

THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The White League Democrats of the South and their allies the Obstructionists in Congress are making serious inroads upon the little popularity the Democratic party had claimed to have obtained among the people since the Presidential election of 1872. Then their political resolutions, especially upon the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, were so nearly alike those of the Republican party in liberality of sentiment on the rights of the emancipated slaves that it required a close discrimination of the platforms of the two political parties to say which was claimed by the apparently converted Democrats of that day. The people were no doubt deceived by these professions, and at the elections of last fall gave the party a liberal support. It was believed then by superficial observers that the party was sincere in its political platforms and professions, and that the interests of the country would be as safe in their hands as in the hands of the party who had saved the country against a Democratic rebellion and made freedom from slavery and from traffic in human chattels universal.

But the Democratic successes in the elections of last fall have so emboldened the party that they have ventured to remove the cloak that concealed their real purposes, and they now ridicule the republican amendments to the Federal Constitution, defy the friends of civil rights in Congress, and abuse President Grant and General Sheridan for preserving the lives of freedmen and the peace of society in the South. But the scenes that have recently transpired in

Louisiana, under the inspiration of the banditti, and the disgraceful acts to which the Obstructionists in Congress have resorted in order to retard the legitimate proceedings and defeat the business of the session—the direct work of the Democracy in both cases—have opened the eyes of the people to the real motives of the party and to the danger of admitting them to power. The people have become alarmed at the result of their own work in popularizing the Democratic ticket at the last fall elections. A reaction in the public sentiment—if we may judge from the tone of the public press—is nearly everywhere announced throughout the country, and the “tidal wave” of last fall is rolling back upon those who rode so triumphantly upon its crest into temporary notice. Those who doubt the truth of this statement need only peruse the “Opinions of the Press,” as indicated in the quotations from exchanges transferred to the present issue of THE REPUBLIC. The public sentiment when correctly informed is always discriminating and correct in its conclusions; and now that the cloven foot has been exposed so prominently to view, both in the South and in the National Congress, the people have become aroused. The acts of Grant and Sheridan—after an opportunity for ascertaining the facts was afforded—have been fully indorsed and approved; and the call now, from the people, is for Congress to act promptly in the passage of such measures as will enable the President to do his whole duty in the work he has so well begun in the South.

CARL SCHURZ AS A WITNESS.

In 1866 Carl Schurz was sent by President Johnson on a tour of inspection through the Southern States. On his return he made an elaborate report of the condition of the South, accompanied with certain suggestions as to the proper treatment of that section by the Federal authorities. The Senator at that time was in full communion with the Republican party, and we have no doubt made an honest report of the state of affairs in the South. But his recent utterances in the Senate and elsewhere are so strangely opposed to the sentiments then expressed that we are led to the conclusion that his present statements are unreliable, or his former ones were gross fabrications. Now he calls the Republican party to account for its systematic persecution of the Southern people, then he recommended the very means which he now claims leads to that persecution. Now he claims that the Southern people have been ready from the first to accept, in good faith, the condition of things; then he expressed the belief that their submission was a forced one. His views in 1866 may be gathered from the language of his report:

"The loyalty of the masses and most of the leaders of the Southern people consists in submission to necessity. There is, except in individual instances, an entire absence of that national spirit which forms the basis of true loyalty and patriotism.

"The emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up. But although the freedman is longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all independent State legislation will share the tendency to make him such. The ordinances abolishing slavery, passed by the conventions under the pressure of circumstances, will not be looked upon as barring the establishment of a new form of servitude.

"Practical attempts on the part of the Southern people to deprive the negro of his rights as a freeman may result in bloody collisions, and will certainly plunge Southern society into restless fluctuations and anarchical confusion. Such evils can be prevented only by continuing the control of the National Government in the States lately in rebellion until free labor is fully developed and firmly established."

In 1866 Senator Schurz, according to the above, noticed "an entire absence of that national spirit which forms the basis of true loyalty and patriotism," and recommended "continuing the control of the National Government in the States lately in rebellion until free labor is fully developed and firmly established." Will the Senator tell us when this "national spirit, which forms the basis of true loyalty and patriotism," took possession of the Southern people, and at what time free labor was "fully developed and firmly established?" We have seen no evidence that the "national spirit" has returned. In fact we have abundant evidence that it has not, and that its possession by citizens of the States lately in rebellion subjects them to outrage and persecution. Will the Senator tell us when free labor was "fully developed and firmly established?" Those who go South to labor return disgusted with the status accorded the laboring man. Those who are forced to stay there are subjected, in many of the States now controlled by Democracy, to a system of labor but little removed from slavery itself. We believe the picture drawn by Carl Schurz in 1866 is a flattering view of the condition of affairs in the South to-day. We quote again from his report:

"When speaking of popular demonstrations in the South in favor of submission to the government, I stated that the principal and almost the only argument used was, that they found themselves in a situation in which 'they could do no better.' It was the same thing with regard to the abolition of slavery; wherever abolition was publicly advocated, whether in popular meetings or in State conventions, it was on the ground of necessity—not unfrequently with the significant addition that, as soon as they had once more control of their own State affairs, they could settle the labor question to suit themselves, whatever they might have to submit to for the present. Not only did I find this to be the common talk among the people, but the same sentiment was openly avowed by public men in speech and print."

In the above extract Carl Schurz appears to have taken a prophetic view of Southern affairs. The slaveholding element of the

South "could do no better" than to submit in 1866. Now it has gained control of State affairs, and wherever it has been left undisturbed it has settled not only the labor question but all other questions to suit itself, and this settlement has been enforced without respect to the late amendments to the Constitution.

The same sentiment which Mr. Schurz found prevailing in the South in 1866 prevails there to-day. It is not only "openly avowed by public men in speech and print," but has found a champion in Carl Schurz himself. We present another extract from this famous report:

"The feeling of aversion and resentment with regard to our soldiers may, perhaps, be called natural. The animosities inflamed by a four years' war, and its distressing incidents, cannot be easily overcome. But they extend beyond the limits of the army, to the people of the North. I have read in Southern papers bitter complaints about the unfriendly spirit exhibited by the Northern people—complaints not unfrequently flavored with an admixture of vituperation. But, as far as my experience goes, the 'unfriendly spirit' exhibited in the North is all mildness and affection compared with the popular temper which in the South vents itself in a variety of ways and on all possible occasions. No observing Northern man can come into contact with the different classes composing Southern society without noticing it. He may be received in social circles with great politeness, even with apparent cordiality; but soon he will become aware that, although he may be esteemed as a man, he is detested as a 'Yankee,' and, as the conversation becomes a little more confidential and throws off ordinary restraint, he is not unfrequently told so; the word 'Yankee' still signifies to them those traits of character which the Southern press has been so long in the habit of attributing to the Northern people; and whenever they look around them upon the traces of the war, they see in them, not the consequences of their own folly, but the evidences of 'Yankee wickedness.'"

Will Senator Schurz be kind enough to tell us when the "aversion and resentment," compared with which the unfriendly spirit "exhibited in the North was all mildness and affection," ceased to find expression in Southern society? When was the word "Yankee," and the popular definition attached to the term, expunged from the

Southern vocabulary? When did the followers of the Confederacy cease to rake up the ashes of sectional animosity for "the evidences of Yankee wickedness?" Will the Senator make reply? He cannot, for he knows, as well as we know, that this aversion and resentment to Northern men exists to-day, as it did at the close of the war, and that "the unfriendly spirit exhibited in the North is all mildness and affection compared with the popular temper which in the South vents itself in a variety of ways and on all possible occasions." Again we give Mr. Schurz the benefit of another extract from his report:

"It struck me, soon after my arrival in the South, that the known Unionists—I mean those who, during the war, had been to a certain extent identified with the national cause—were not in communion with the leading social and political circles; and the further my observations extended the clearer it became to me that their existence in the South was of a rather precarious nature. Already in Charleston, S. C., my attention was called to the current talk among the people, that when they had the control of things once more in their own hands, and were no longer restrained by the presence of 'Yankee' soldiers, men of Dr. Mackey's stamp would not be permitted to live there."

It strikes us, as it did Mr. Schurz in 1866, that the known Unionists of the South are not yet "in communion with the leading social and political circles" of that section, and the fact that known Unionists are living to-day in the States lately in rebellion and are permitted in a measure to exercise the rights of citizenship is attributable not to the magnanimity of the social and political circles, but to the overshadowing power and protection of the General Government. Yet Mr. Schurz, with a full knowledge of this fact, has the effrontery to stand on the floor of the United States Senate and denounce the Republican party for encouraging the protection of the Unionists of the South, who from the close of the war to the present time have been left to the tender mercies of the social and political circles, which not only refuse them communion, but openly and defiantly continue to persecute them. It may be possible for Mr. Schurz, on account of his prejudices toward the party that refused to submit to his dictations, to blind

himself to the true condition of Southern affairs, but fair-minded men who have reviewed the situation must admit that, so far as the social and political status of the Union men of the South is concerned, there has been no improvement over the picture drawn by Mr. Schurz in 1866.

In his speech in the Senate on Louisiana affairs Mr. Schurz said that the reports of outrages in the South "begin to fall stale upon the ear of the people." In reference to these reports he added, "The people have begun shrewdly to suspect that when some men pretend they must remain in power to protect the lives of the negroes, the cry about murdered negroes must be raised simply to keep them in power." Was this the reason why Mr. Schurz made his report to President Johnson in 1866? If it was, he did a great wrong to the Southern people when he gave the following account of the general treatment of the negro:

"A belief, conviction, or prejudice, or whatever you may call it, so widely spread and apparently so deeply rooted as this, that the negro will not work without physical compulsion, is certainly calculated to have a very serious influence upon the conduct of the people entertaining it. It naturally produced a desire to preserve slavery in its original form as much and as long as possible—and you may, perhaps, remember the admission made by one of the provisional governors, over two months after the close of the war, that the people of his State still indulged in a lingering hope slavery might yet be preserved—or to introduce into the new system that element of physical compulsion which would make the negro work. Efforts were, indeed, made to hold the negro in his old state of subjection, especially in such localities where our military forces had not yet penetrated, or where the country was not garrisoned in detail. Here and there planters succeeded for a limited period to keep their former slaves in ignorance, or at least doubt, about their new rights; but the main agency employed for that purpose was force and intimidation. In many instances negroes who walked away from the plantations, or were found upon the roads, were shot or otherwise severely punished, which was calculated to produce the impression among those remaining with their masters that an attempt to escape from slavery would result in certain destruction.

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"Brigadier General Fessenden reports: 'A spirit of bitterness and persecution manifests itself toward the negroes. They are shot and abused, outside the immediate protection of our forces, by men who announce their determination to take the law into their own hands, in defiance of our authority. To protect the negro and punish these still rebellious individuals it will be necessary to have their country pretty thickly settled with soldiers.'

* * * * *

"The habit is so inveterate with a great many persons as to render on the least provocation the impulse to whip a negro almost irresistible. It will continue to be so until the Southern people will have learned, *so as never to forget it, that a black man has rights which a white man is bound to respect.*

"So far the spirit of persecution has shown itself so strong as to make the protection of the freedman by the military arm of the Government in many localities necessary—in almost all, desirable."

Will the Senator rise and explain his present views on this delicate question of negro treatment? Will he inform us when "this irresistible impulse to whip a negro on the least provocation" ceased to find lodgment in the hearts of the ex-slaveholders of the South? Will he tell us if they have yet learned, "so as never to forget it, that a black man has rights which a white man is bound to respect," or will he be honest enough to acknowledge, as he must to be consistent with his present position, that his whole report was a tissue of falsehoods and exaggerations, made for no other purpose than to keep himself in power. We believe that a careful investigation into Southern affairs will prove that the negroes, as a class, were more kindly treated in 1866 than they are to-day. If their treatment in 1866 was truthfully described by Carl Schurz in the extracts quoted above, we leave it for him to determine what must be their treatment under the reign of hatred and political persecution which found practical expression in the massacres at Colfax and Vicksburg.

We reluctantly lay aside this report, so full of instruction to Mr. Schurz, and those who have blindly followed his lead. As he grows eloquent over the "outrage on constitutional liberty," committed by the presence of a few Federal soldiers in New Orleans, let him glance at the statement he made in his report on the prospects of education in the South.

"I was forced to the conclusion that, aside from a small number of honorable exceptions, the popular prejudice is almost as bitterly set against the negro's having the advantage of education as it was when the negro was a slave. There may be an improvement in that respect, but it would prove only how universal the prejudice was in former days. Hundreds of times I heard the old assertion repeated, that 'learning will spoil the nigger for work,' and that 'negro education will be the ruin of the South.' Another most singular notion still holds a potent sway over the minds of the masses—it is, that the elevation of the blacks will be the degradation of the whites. They do not understand yet that the continual contact with an ignorant and degraded population must necessarily lower the mental and moral tone of the other classes of society. This they might have learned from actual experience, as we in the North have been taught, also by actual experience, that the education of the lower orders is the only reliable basis of the civilization as well as of the prosperity of a people.

"The consequence of the prejudice prevailing in the Southern States is that colored schools can be established and carried on with safety only under the protection of our military forces, and that where the latter are withdrawn the former have to go with them. There may be a few localities forming exceptions, but their number is certainly very small."

It hardly seems possible that the man who but a few years ago thought it impossible for colored schools to be established or carried on in safety except under the protection of our military forces could now be found expressing the belief that all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the whites of the South could be as fully enjoyed by the blacks without any interference on the part of the General Government. Yet such is the attitude of Mr. Schurz. He has become fully convinced that the Southern people have been anxious since the close of the war to live in peaceful relations with the North, and that all the reports of persecutions and outrages were raised by the adherents of the Republican party simply to keep the party in place and power.

We should be glad to acknowledge the truth of these convictions, but the bloody record of the past eight years can not be blotted out from the history of the country, and this record will remain through coming ages as a stigma on the party that made it possible, and a blot on the character of the men who stood up to palliate or defend it.

WORK OF THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

EXCITEMENT IN CONGRESS.

During the last two weeks Congress has been in a *furor* of excitement. Little practical work has been accomplished. A current of political party feeling has drifted the whole body away from the more important regular business. The turbulence in the Southern States—especially in Louisiana; the hue and cry raised over the whole country on account of it; the inflammatory and unjust representations of the sensation press adding daily fuel to the flames; the contests in some of the Legislatures of the States over senatorial elections, resulting in the defeat of some of the more prominent Republican Senators and the suspense hanging over the case of others; the return of Andrew Johnson to the Senate of the United States; the insolent front of the Democrats in Congress

assumed lately by reason of these events, as well as the continued depression of the business and finances of the country, have all combined to stir the partisan feeling in Congress to its lowest depths, and to consume the time now so precious for the necessary practical legislation of the country.

THE SENATE.

In this body for the last two weeks the resolution of Senator Schurz respecting Louisiana affairs has mainly occupied attention—the morning hour only being given to the routine of business. The great debate has been running on to its culmination in the several speeches of Senators Logan, Gordon, Thurman, Pease, Sherman, Howe, Frelinghuysen, and others. The acme of the debate, however, was reached in the five hours occupied by Senator Conkling on

Thursday and Friday last. It is thought by many that no such speech has been delivered in the Senate chamber since Webster's reply to Hayne. The audience was superb. The galleries were crowded almost to suffocation; on the floor might be seen the judges of the Supreme Court, the members of the Cabinet, the members of the House, and many of the most eminent civilians. Every Senator was in his seat, with a look of interest the most absorbing. The speech was a grand and, we think, a final response to the allegations of the Opposition, for which the country must accord the distinguished Senator the most hearty thanks. One would suppose that little more remains to be said after this most exhaustive and conclusive argument, and it is to be hoped that now the Senate will be able to return to the pressing business before them.

THE HOUSE.

The business of the House has been greatly delayed. The special report of the sub-committee sent to New Orleans about the first of the year being submitted, dissatisfaction was expressed in many quarters on account of its partial and one-sided character, and another delegation has been sent to that city for a more thorough investigation into the state of affairs. Meanwhile the other committees of investigation are making very slow progress. The Pacific Mail subsidy still occupies attention. The state of things in Arkansas and Mississippi has not been presented to the House, and the questions involved have scarcely been discussed, while many prominent citizens of those States are waiting upon the action of Congress for a solution of the difficulties and complications now before them. Nine of the regular appropriation bills yet remain to be passed, and an immense quantity of work still accumulates on the hands of the committees. The affairs of the District have, as yet, received but little attention, no permanent form of government being provided. The prospect is, however, that some relief will be given to the bondholders of the District by an appropriation for the payment of interest on the same.

But the political situation seems to engross all minds, and dilatory propositions and tac-

tics on the part of the minority in the House appear to be the order of the day.

THE DEAD-LOCK.

During the last week an attempt was made to take up the civil rights bill; and though there are 200 Republicans and only 92 of the Opposition, a resistance was made on the part of the minority which, after a contest of forty-six consecutive hours, forced the House to an adjournment; and the last day of the week was consumed, at the instance of that same minority, in reading the minutes of this marvelous feat of filibustering, one of the most remarkable in the annals of Congress.

On Monday, the 1st of February, the contest was renewed in another form. Mr. Cessna, of Pennsylvania, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the following be adopted as additional standing rules of the House:

167. Whenever a question is pending before the House the Speaker shall not entertain any motion of a dilatory character, except one motion to adjourn and one motion to fix the time when the House shall adjourn, which latter motion shall not be made more than once pending consideration of the same, but at no time, except during the last six days of the session, shall the previous question on the engrossment and third reading of any bill or joint resolution be ordered during the first day of its consideration, unless upon the vote taken to second the demand two-thirds shall have been found to have voted in favor thereof: *Provided*, That this rule shall not apply to House resolutions offered in the morning hour on Monday: *And provided further*, That this rule shall not apply to any proposition to appropriate the money, credit, or property of the United States, except bills from the Committees of Appropriation for the support of the United States Government or some branch or office thereof.

168. It shall be in order for the Judiciary Committee to report bills and joint resolutions of a public character at any time during Tuesdays and Thursdays: *Provided, however*, That this privilege shall not be so exercised as to interfere with the morning hour, nor with the consideration of regular appropriation bills, nor with bills reported by the Committee of Ways and Means affecting the revenues, nor with special orders previously assigned.

169. It shall be in order for the House by a majority vote to dispense with further reading and correction of the Journal at any time after thirty minutes shall have been spent in such reading and correction.

Whereupon Mr. Randall, of Pa., the leader of the filibustering faction, raised a point of order designed to defeat its reference. The whole hour was spent in the struggle, but the friends of the resolution succeeded in referring it to the appropriate committee. This will enable the majority to transact the most important business before the expiration of Congress.

THE WASHINGTON NAVY-YARD.

A singular proposition has been made to abolish the Washington navy-yard. It is difficult to perceive the expediency or economy of such a measure. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended on its establishment and it is furnished with everything adequate to the demands of the Government and the country in this direction. It is most elegibly located, and has been of the utmost importance in times of emergency in the past, and would be so in the future. There can be no motive for its discontinuance, but that which is sordid and unpatriotic in the extreme. It is a measure surely which ought not to receive the approbation of Congress.

THE LOCAL RAILROADS.

The aid of Congress in establishing the proposed additional lines of railroad leading from the Federal Capital so as to perfect the routes of travel from the seat of Government to all parts of our widely extended country finds great support in the popular favor, and for this purpose wise and carefully guarded legislation appears to be imperatively demanded.

THE LOBBY.

The city and Capitol are now thronged with parties of all descriptions who are pressing upon Congress their wily schemes. The sewing machine companies are urging their claims for an extension of patents. All pretexts are employed to obtain subsidies and donations out of the public Treasury. The experience of the past must furnish to our legislators a warning against these appeals. The public money has already been sufficiently squandered upon private enterprises, and the public suspicion has fallen heavily at the doors of Congress that all is not right. It is high time that a new departure should

be taken. Congress must understand, and the lobby must understand, that the people of this country will not tolerate this kind of legislation. The public mind has become disgusted with the process. The lobby acts upon Congress through the subsidized press and many go-betweens, agents, lawyers, and clients. The measure is carried and a fine slice is taken out of the Treasury. The robbers then presently begin to quarrel over a division of the spoils; some actor in the farce imagines he has not the lion's share and he immediately employs the newspapers to raise the howl of corruption and fraud. This stirs up Congress to investigation and committees are appointed; witnesses are brought on and testify just far enough to deepen the suspicion, and there pausing they defy Congress to go one step further. Congress is utterly impotent to compel them to make a clean breast of it. Then follows a little farce of what is called imprisonment, and Congress and their reculant witnesses go on their way rejoicing! Meanwhile additional thousands of the public funds are wasted in gaining those new certificates of credit and of character, and the people are hoodwinked and cheated all around the circle.

Better far would it be if the money so uselessly and needlessly expended could be devoted to the Bureau of Education or Agriculture or some one of the great and substantial interests of the nation. These are subjects with which future Congresses will have to reckon, if they shall desire to retain the popular confidence and respect.

THE CONGRESSIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE INSPECT THE CENTENNIAL BUILDINGS.

The Centennial Committee of the House visited Philadelphia on Saturday, the 23d January, for the purpose of inspecting the progress of the Centennial work. The committee is composed of the following gentlemen: Messrs. Wm. D. Kelley, of Pa.; Joseph R. Hawley, of Conn.; John G. Smith, of Ohio; Greenbury Fort, of Ill.; Charles Clayton, of Cal.; Erastus Wells, of Mo.; Pierce M. B. Young, of Ga.; John T. Harris, of Va.; Elisha D. Standiford, of Ky.; and John A. Kasson, of Iowa. It was accompanied by Messrs. Charles O'Neill, Leonard Myers, and

Samuel Randall, Representatives from Philadelphia. At the headquarters of the Centennial Commission, on Walnut street, ex-Gov. Bigler, of the financial board, presented a statement of the progress of the work and called attention to what the General Government should assume in this undertaking.

General Hawley also made some suggestions, and said that the Government would require more room for the exhibition of articles from its several departments than could be spared, and it would be advisable to direct the attention of Congress to the importance of erecting a separate building for that display. From the Patent Office models of machinery would be selected marking the various stages. From the Treasury coins and various issues of currency. From the War and Navy Departments guns and projectiles. The Land Office has sufficient material to make an exhibition of itself. The character of our lands, capacity of soil, and nature of climate would be of vast interest to people interested in immigration as well as advantageous to manufactures. The Indian Department might have several lodges of Indians with their weapons of war and of

the chase. This and more was contemplated by the Government departments, and he believed that Congress should appropriate the means to erect a building in which a suitable exhibition might be made. If it was not done these departments would have to reduce the amount of space now asked for.

The committee visited the Centennial grounds and buildings, accompanied by Director General Goshorn and several officers of the commission.

CANADIAN RECIPROCITY.

The friends of the reciprocity treaty with Canada, which since its publication, last spring, has been lying on the table of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, have recently made a strenuous effort to get it again before the Senate and the public, with but little show of success. The committee, it is understood, have declined to take any action on it, and it can safely be said it will not leave the committee table this session.

ADVERSE REPORT ON RECIPROCITY.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have agreed to report adversely on the Canadian reciprocity treaty.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE LOUISIANA MESSAGE.

From a thousand or more editorials in our exchange papers indorsing the action of the President, we copy the following, not as a selection from the whole lot, but from the top of the pile, stopping when the limited space in the pages of the magazine was filled. We have quoted only a paragraph from each, but there is enough to indicate pretty correctly the drift of public sentiment:

POST (DEM.) BOSTON.

The response of President Grant to the Senate resolution of inquiry concerning Louisiana affairs is without exception the weakest and yet the most alarming document ever issued from the Executive Office. Although doubtless modified by the exigencies of a threatened Cabinet revolt, its virulent partisanship, its weak and evasive disclaimers of personal responsibility, and its astounding assumption regarding the scope of military power, give it a place by itself among State papers.

HERALD (DEM.) BOSTON.

The President's message on the Louisiana question will be read with interest. It is evident that he takes his facts about the long-continued struggle in Louisiana from somebody outside of the Congressional committee who have visited New Orleans to investigate, for he does not agree with the committee of the Senate or the committee of the House. Naturally he gets his information from Brother-in-law Casey, Marshal Packard, and Attorney General Williams' outrage agents in that State. Yet he believes that there was no fair election two years ago, while he thinks that Kellogg had a better right to the governorship than McEnery. He defends the operations of the troops, and says if they have erred at all it has been on the side of peace, order, and the protection of life. Finally, he urges Congress to act in regard to Louisiana, and clearly defines his duties, and he promises to carry out its acts without fear or favor. The message does not read like the work of a great statesman; neither

does it read like words of one who wants to makes himself a dictator.

PRESS (DEM.) TROY, N. Y.

The President has been heard from. The message, which we have been informed by Administration organs would satisfy every one, was sent to the Senate yesterday. We assert that not two hundred lines of the message have any bearing upon the facts inquired after by the Senate. Throughout the message, in place of the evidence called for, you will find assertions introduced by phrases like these: "Creditably informed," "quite certain," "seems to be well established," "there is no doubt," &c., and if we were to epitomize the message we should put it in this way: "Sheridan is all right, I am all right, 'all of us' are all right, but since we see that our little game will not work, we won't do so any more." For mercy's sake read this message and learn how utterly indefensible the act of Sheridan, and Grant, and Belknap, "and all of us" was. If brother-in-law Casey should die, and no more money could be made down in New Orleans, it is probable that the President would not be so solicitous for the salvation of Kellogg and the rest of the ring.

SENTINEL (DEM.) BURLINGTON, VT.

On Wednesday President Grant transmitted to the Senate his special message concerning affairs in Louisiana. It reads like a Radical newspaper editorial, or a letter from a lying correspondent of an Administration organ. The President feels at heart that wrong has been done, but with his customary persistence in a chosen line of action, whether right or wrong, he undertakes its defense.

TRIBUNE, (INDEP.,) NEW YORK.

The message throughout is a partisan, one-sided document—a very weak defense of a wrong and illegal transaction. It might be summarized as a recital of the partisan and false statements of the Kellogg usurpation; a charge, without foundation, against the white people of the State; a disavowal of responsibility on the part of the President, and a transfer and division of the same between Congress, the officers and troops, and Kellogg, and a mild explanation of Sheridan's infamous dispatch, with the comment that his suggestion would be excellent if it were not illegal, in time of peace, to declare a whole community banditti and try them by military commission. In the whole document he has not admitted a single statement that did not come directly, and without proof, to the upholders of the Kellogg usurpation. *He does intimate that Sheridan is no lawyer, and is not fit for the place he holds.* Why does he not recall him?

[The falsehood contained in the italicised sentence is simply infamous.]

REPUBLICAN, (INDEP.,) SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

This message puts a new face upon the situation in certain not unimportant respects; in other respects it leaves it practically unchanged. Again the President's instinct of self-preservation gets the better of his proverbial obstinacy. Finding himself in a particularly ugly scrape, he shows himself a wise man and President in his generation by backing out of it with all possible dispatch; for the message is nothing more or less than that—a square back-down. We have had no more striking illustration for many a day of the really tremendous power of public opinion in a country of newspapers and telegraphs.

TIMES, NEW YORK.

We know very well that there are many persons—it is impossible to estimate how many—who thoroughly approve of the President's policy, and of General Sheridan's dispatches and recommendations. *As we have already said, by far the larger proportion of the letters which we have received on the subject are in support of General Sheridan's "policy," and in opposition to our own views.* This is the case every day, and we must accept it as one of the straws which show which way the tide is running.

[Whip-lashes, rather than "straws," we are inclined to think.]

[WHIG, TROY, N. Y.]

General Grant has spoken boldly and frankly in answer to the call of the Senate for information upon the condition of Louisiana.

He tells Congress why he recognized the right of Kellogg to be Governor, and his facts and arguments are unanswerable. He could not act otherwise and be true to his oath to support the Constitution and laws. He thinks that General De Trobriand is excusable for his intervention, and gives very good reasons for his opinions.

The President turns the whole business over to Congress, and promises to execute whatever laws they may pass.

TIMES, TROY, N. Y.

No one not blinded by partisan zeal and an almost fiendish hatred of the President can fail to read this document without being impressed with the patriotism, the honesty, and the forbearance of this man, who is styled by his enemies a usurper, a tyrant, and a Cæsar, or without being shocked at the horrible atrocities committed upon unoffending white and black Republicans by the white leaguers, as detailed in the message with the hand of a master by the President.

HERALD, RUTLAND, VT.

We shall be surprised if the President's message does not work quite a change in public opinion. * * *

We call upon Congress to devise some means to put an end to this deplorable state of things. The take-it-easy do-nothing policy is evidently a failure in this as well as some other cases. The responsibility lies with them, and we hope they will prove worthy of it. Till then we cannot but commend the ringing words of the President: "To the extent that Congress has conferred power on me to prevent it, neither Kuklux Klans, White Leagues, nor any other association using arms and violence to execute their unlawful purposes, can be permitted in that way to govern any part of the country; nor can I see with indifference Union men or Republicans ostracised, persecuted, and murdered on account of their opinions, as they now are, in some localities."

DISPATCH, ONEIDA, N. Y.

Throughout the unfortunate and altogether unhappy surroundings of Louisiana affairs, that President Grant has honestly sought the wisest and best fulfillment of the grave responsibilities devolving upon him we most sincerely believe, neither though he may have failed in judgment or erred in methods, have we the less abiding faith in his integrity of purpose. Indicative of this desire upon his part is the tone of the message throughout, and in this respect most widely at variance with the hypocrisy and falsity but thinly disguised on the part of the greater proportion of his Democratic assailants.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

The country gives the Louisiana message of the President a close perusal and a hearty welcome. It is a calm and considerate review of all the facts, and a knowledge of the truth is essential to any intelligent judgment upon the transactions in New Orleans. The President reviews the deplorable condition of affairs that has existed in Louisiana since the reconstruction of the State.

The President, having thus answered the resolution calling for information, places this whole matter where it properly belongs—before Congress—and that body cannot do better than give its prompt attention to the subject, and not leave Louisiana and the country exposed to the danger of a renewed civil war, excitement, and bad blood.

JOURNAL, NYACK, N. Y.

The clamor and exultation of the Democrats over the situation in Louisiana has considerably toned down during the last few days. They are now compelled to acknowledge that so far from Grant, the tyrant, having ordered, and Sheridan, the bloody,

having executed the invasion, neither of them had anything to do with it: that, on the contrary, the whole thing was initiated by the Democratic leaders who called in General DeTrobian to exclude certain intruders, and the Governor afterward called on him to exclude certain other intruders. With both requests he complied. General Grant knew nothing about it, and General Sheridan did not take command until the night following, when it was all over.

The Democratic leaders throughout the country thought they saw a chance for making what they greatly needed—political capital—and immediately exploded furiously through their newspapers and got up indignation meetings everywhere. The one in New York was mainly engineered by Democrats proper who did nothing to suppress the rebellion, ancient copperheads, a few disappointed Republicans, and divers nobodies. Among the speakers was one who so far sympathized with the rebellion at the outset as to threaten that the guillotine might be set at work in this State; another whose course was such as to secure him quarters in Fort Lafayette; and another still who volunteered to gird his sword on his thigh in the cause of South Carolina.

GAZETTE, CINCINNATI.

But the stubborn, bloody fact remains that murderers are common in Louisiana, and punishment for murder uncommon. No murderer or assassin has thus far been brought to justice, although the blood of 3,000 victims calls aloud from the ground. Is this the kind of peace that the law-abiding people of this country want in Louisiana? Do those who protest against that military interference which has not shed a drop of blood but has prevented wholesale butcheries, approve of the anarchy that prevails, the murders that have been committed, and the terrorism that reigns in Louisiana? If not, why is it that in all the fiery preambles and resolutions that have been adopted no word of reproof is uttered against the monstrous crimes that have been committed? It is against these that the people should protest, for it is these that imposed upon the President of the United States the disagreeable duty of interfering. Let us have peace, but let us see that it is founded upon justice and law and equal rights.

OBSERVER, PISCATAQUIS, ME.

The Louisiana troubles have assumed grave proportions. The most significant facts in the case are: that, on the one hand, not less than 3,500 negroes and Republican whites—among the latter not a few thrifty business men from the North—have been murdered in the State since 1866, while not one of the murderers has been brought to

Justice, and there is no desire on the part of the Southern Democratic press or the Democrats of the South that the murderers should be punished; and on the other hand the State is at last put under Federal control through the active presence of United States troops.

We publish in full the President's message sent in response to the Senate's resolution of inquiry. All parties waited with keen anxiety to hear what the President would say on this the most important question now before the country, and he has spoken in a manner which will do not a little to restore confidence touching both his statesmanship and his efficiency. The message should be carefully read by every one desiring a clear idea of the political condition of Louisiana.

REPUBLICAN, ST. CLAIR, MICH.

In treating the so-called Louisiana question, after the smoke of battle has cleared away, it must be remembered that the only charge that is made by politicians desirous of making political capital out of it, is that five persons, claimants having no certificates of election, were ejected by the military at the request of the majority of the members of the Legislature having certificates and the Governor of the State, and under the orders of the Governor. These five men were prevented from participating in the organization of the House. Their rights to seats in the House could be examined and settled afterward. This is the rule, usage, and the law in all the States of the Union as well as Louisiana, and the only one that can possibly avoid anarchy and revolution. No lives were lost, no property destroyed, and no member having a certificate of election molested or interfered with at all. What would otherwise have been the result can only be conjectured. Judging from the Democratic papers just prior to that time, accounts of scenes of revolution and bloodshed were expected to be flashed along the electric wires hourly upon the assembling of the Legislature. The Administration, charged with maintaining order and upholding the laws of the country, the most sacred of which are the right to life and liberty of opinion on political matters, was compelled to take such steps as would most reasonably accomplish that end. After the occurrence it is easy to criticise and find fault with the manner in which the military authorities acted upon the spur of the moment. It is the old story so often exemplified during the late war, of negative characters whining at everything that was done, but proposing to do nothing themselves.

REGISTER, NAPA, CAL.

Such is a brief review of the document.

It appears to cover the ground completely, and be an honest, manly endeavor to grapple with the situation, and do what is best under the circumstances. The President's position is one of delicate responsibility. He must shirk no duty, yet is liable to be blamed whichever way he turns. He has to do what appears to him best in sudden emergencies, and we think all good, law-abiding citizens will indorse his action in this matter as a good, square endeavor to restore order to a distracted state, and protect the lives of citizens within it. He could do no less and do his duty.

REPUBLICAN, NEILLSVILLE, WIS.

The message is a plain detail of the various causes which have given rise to the serious disturbances in Louisiana. The responsibility for the numerous murders and outrages committed is clearly fastened upon the infamous White League of the South, which is nothing but an organization of the old rebel element. The fearless and patriotic course of Grant and Sheridan is the only salvation of the country, but it is to be expected that the rebels will enter their solemn protest against military interference. So they did at Vicksburg and on the Potomac. They have a horror of such proceedings, and have the profoundest sympathy of their Democratic allies in the North, as usual.

MESSANGER, GLENS FALLS, N. Y.

The last wave which shadowed over the country, and so stirred the indignation of Democrats and took weak Republicans off their feet, is fast receding, leaving a blush of shame for the Republicans who were so easily carried away, and has washed the Democrats of their hypocritical covering, exposing their corrupt sentiments and their treacherous inclinations. All who have any honor left are heartily ashamed of their hasty denunciation of the National Administration concerning the Louisiana trouble. None but those who harbor a spirit of merciless revenge, and are ready to support the assassin, defend Kuklux Klans, sustain White Leagues, delight in the killing of negroes, and disrespect the rights of Republican citizens—none but such denounce the National Administration and the faithful soldiers who brought order out of confusion, and prevented further bloodshed and riot in Louisiana.

Those who all through the war sympathized with rebels, and were known as "Copperheads" here at the North, are now the most loud-mouthed about the heinous crime against liberty committed by the soldiers at New Orleans when they put down the lawless usurpers. The fact that all Democrats are not such base creatures as to harbor the spirit of an assassin, or unjustly oppress the weak, is a great relief to this dark picture. In another

part of this paper is published a letter from an eminent Democratic lawyer, who towers immeasurably above the insignificant demagogues who are howling at his heels. Contrast his plain, honest statement of the affair with the misrepresentation and foul denunciations of the extreme Democrat over the way. We refer to the letter of Hon. E. W. Stoughton, of New York. Read it!

HERALD, ST. JOSEPH, MO.

The President's message on Louisiana affairs has worked a complete change in public sentiment. Men see that the precise condition of things is upon us which speedily culminated in open rebellion fourteen years ago. The North will again rally to the support of the President, as it did then. In 1861 Democratic Legislatures, newspapers, and politicians uttered the same howl about "sovereignty of States," "Federal interference," and "military invasions and usurpations" which we hear now. The men who go about the streets of St. Joseph saying "Sheridan ought to be shot," he is an "Irish blatherskite," "Grant wants to make niggers of the Southrons," are the identical men who talked of President Lincoln and his army officers in much worse taste and with equal bitterness in 1861. The temporary successes of the Democrats in the North have emboldened these men to crawl out of the brush, and they are sunning themselves on the streets of this city with the broken eggshells of secession still clinging to their coat-tails.

They are again mistaken. The North will unite on this question, as it did before, and will sweep these howling rebels into the Gulf. It will be a clean sweep this time; and, if another rebellion is provoked, we will guarantee that none of its leavings can ever afterward be elevated to office in this country on the score of services rendered this second rebellion.

We were four years in putting down the first insurrection because Buchanan did not promptly protect citizens, forts, and property in the South. We are glad that President Grant does not intend to be caught in that way. And we again repeat what we have already said: it is the duty of every patriot to stand by Grant and Sheridan now. The action of citizens on this subject will be a test of patriotism.

No Republican is safe in the South. We insist that the murdering of Republicans shall cease. Southern chivalry has been fairly and fully shown, at Coushatta, New Orleans, and Vicksburg, to be simply murder. Let us have no more of it.

REPUBLICAN, CAZENOVIA, N. Y.

The "mid-winter madness" over the Louisiana trouble has passed, and in the calm-

ness of the "sober second thought" the judgment of the people on the Administration is rapidly changing from abuse to commendation, or, at the least, outside of the Democratic party and Grant-haters, to friendly criticism.

We call the attention of every reader to the President's message, which we give in full elsewhere, and ask for it a careful perusal.

Soberly, thoughtfully, frankly, without undue pleading or excuse for wrong that may have been done, the President presents to Congress the facts as he understands them.

The message is so full and plain that its points need no explanation from us. It is its own best commentary.

The attempt of the Democrats to make political capital out of this unfortunate complication is now so plainly apparent that the reaction is very damaging to them.

Instead of the "military despot," the "American Cæsar," the "tyrant," as our Democratic friends have fondly styled him, General Grant, in the full light of events, appears as the careful conservator and the faithful executive. If he does not transcend his powers more than in the present instance the country may safely rest.

JOURNAL, BATTLE CREEK, MICH.

It is absolute relief and refreshment to contrast the resolute, firm, and patriotic tone of the message with the craven spirit and disreputable utterances of the speakers at the Cooper Institute meeting on Monday evening. A thousand times better than all the platitudes and twaddle of that meeting is the almost metallic ring of his language, when he says that "to the extent that Congress has conferred the power on me to prevent it, neither Ku Klux Klans, White Leagues, nor any other association using arms and violence to execute their unlawful purposes, can be permitted in that way to govern any part of this country; nor can I see with indifference Union men or Republicans ostracised, persecuted, and murdered on account of their opinions, as they now are in some localities."

MAIL, DOVER, N. J.

From members of his own party he has met that which is far more grievous to be borne than vile epithets and slanderous assertions—he has been charged with over-riding the law—with overstepping the boundaries which the Constitution prescribes as the limits of his official action with respect to the internal affairs of the States of the Union.

All of this he has listened to day after day from the press, from the platform, from State Legislatures, and the halls of Congress—listened to it carefully yet composedly, conscious that when he spoke the truth would claim its own. And he has done so. His message and the accompanying documents

have been a solvent in the lying mixture spread broadcast over the land by the Associated Press, and have been as oil upon the troubled waters of public opinion. The language of the message is temperate and firm—like the man himself, strong and self-contained. His statements are cool and dispassionate, his argument clear and logical. He plainly demonstrates the necessity for the use of United States troops in the first instance, in enforcing a process of the United States court, the law specially providing that they may be used for this purpose, but the President does not attempt to prove from this the necessity or authority for their use on the 4th inst. On the contrary, he relieves himself from all the odium which his enemies are determined shall be fastened upon him, by declaring that Kellogg should have summoned the police force of the State, and if they were not sufficient, the militia of the State before calling upon the United States forces for assistance.

REPUBLICAN, OTTAWA, ILLINOIS.

No man has ever filled the Presidential chair who has shown in all his acts a more sincere desire to keep within the law than President Grant. While President Polk declared war against Mexico, in violation of the Constitution and without consulting Congress in the matter, and Pierce and Buchanan used the Federal army to recover fugitive slaves and to suppress free-State Legislatures and to enforce frauds in the form of a Lecompton Constitution and the Missouri slave code upon the free people of Kansas, Grant has only used the military when called upon, as provided by the Constitution and laws, to prevent revolution, anarchy, and bloodshed. The message is worthy of a careful reading and candid consideration.

REPUBLICAN, TAYLORVILLE, ILLINOIS.

General Grant's message to Congress, on the Louisiana question, is his best public document. The disorders, outrages, and political murders committed in the South have evidently aroused the President, and his language is sharp, plain, emphatic, and unequivocal. Unlike most State papers, (always excepting those of Lincoln,) his message is not a dry and dreary statement of fact. It is a graphic and true picture of the condition of affairs in the South.

AMERICAN, SUNBURY, PA.

The President gives the status of things so full and clear that it will satisfy the whole country, except, perhaps, the Democratic leaders with their journals at their back, who have been thwarted in their hopes of political capital. The whole matter will now devolve upon Congress to meet the question promptly and fairly. It failed to do so last

session, and at the adjournment left it worse than it was. The responsibility now rests upon them, and they must meet it manfully, and dispose of it definitely. Let the wrong be put upon the proper shoulders, and let a just compromise be decided on if the case will admit it, and if it will not admit of it then take the bull by the horns regardless of the ownership of the animal, and compel submission and peremptorily establish law and order. We are happy to see that the Republicans in Congress have back bone in standing by the right—unwaveringly in the full performance of their duty.

NORTH AMERICAN, PHILADELPHIA.

Of one thing the country may be assured, and that is that the situation in Louisiana is not unprecedented. The pretext of this revolt is that the present acting Governor does not hold his place by popular verdict at the polls. Whether he was elected or not no man can now say. Both parties seem to have indulged in frauds, and Mr. Kellogg managed to secure the right of possession. But admitting that his possession is due to fraud first, and finally to Federal power, the case is not new. The revolt only is new. For it is scarcely matter of doubt that Mr. Hoffman was not Governor of New York by popular verdict rendered at the polls. The frauds perpetrated in the city of New York under the management of Tweed and his fellows were enormously in excess of Hoffman's majority in the State. But no man heard a word from the cheated party or its candidate in the nature of revolt. There was no midnight assembling of clansmen for drill and discipline. The cheated candidate issued no proclamation declaring himself the legal Governor. The allegation of fraud was boldly made, and nobody that is anybody doubts that the frauds were perpetrated. But, as in the Louisiana case, and as in almost all cases of frauds on a large scale, it is one thing to allege and another to demonstrate to the satisfaction of a legal tribunal.

DAKOTIAN, YANCTON, DAKOTA.

The storm of Democratic invective which has deluged the land since the forcible suppression of the revolutionary attempt to seize possession of the lower house of the Louisiana Legislature would have shaken the equanimity and aroused the elements of a retaliatory defense in a mind less evenly balanced than President Grant's. The emanations of rebel hatred loosed from treasonable tongues have darkened the atmosphere of the Republic, while sympathizing hearts at the North have beaten in responsive cadence and sympathizing voices have joined in the outcry against an Executive whose offense is the protection of a State from the effects of a revolutionary uprising. But the storm beats

against the same impregnable front which broke the lines of the rebellion in 1861-'65. In the hour when partisan feeling is at its white heat, and fierce demands are made by men just on the verge of a dissolution of the Union, President Grant comes forward in response to Senator Thurman's congressional resolution, and lays before the people a clear, dispassionate, and unprejudiced statement of the situation in Louisiana, and of the outbreaks of the past which have occurred within the limits of that State. The document is one which for fairness and a pervading sense of justice must command the admiration of the world. Firm in the conviction of his duty, he states his reasons for being thus convinced and asserts his determination to act in conformity to the legal and constitutional aspects of the case.

PATRIOT, MOUND CITY, ILL.

While the tone of the message is exceedingly moderate, it gives a few of the facts that have transpired in that hot-bed of treason, New Orleans; and it shows most emphatically the reign of terror prevailing in that God-forsaken State. It is not a matter of wonder that the brave Sheridan boiled with indignation when he was an eyewitness to some of their hellish work, nor that his sober judgment demanded the summary drum-head court-martial to rid the country of a set of heartless blood-thirsty devils perpetrating their crimes in the name of the Democratic party. A Democrat himself, he denounces these incarnate fiends as "banditti," deserving no mercy. Read the message.

REPUBLICAN, BELLEFONTE, OHIO.

The rebel Democratic howl is made against "military interference," but this is not the real grievance. The grievance is, that the rebels in Louisiana were not suffered to usurp the Government there, by violation of law. The Democratic party has indorsed the use of the military, by Democratic Presidents, to catch runaway slaves, to overrun the Free-State Legislature in Kansas, and to disperse the Maryland Legislature, (by indorsing McClellan,) and they have gone upon the record too often with "military interference" to cry out against it at this late day. If the military interference in Louisiana had been confined to its use by the rebel speaker Wiltz, not a Democrat would have raised voice against it. It is only when the military interferes in the interests of the blacks and freedom that it galls the Democracy. Military interference to coerce the South, during the war, was just as distasteful to them as it is now. No honest man, of unbiased mind, can read the President's message, and believe that he has done

anything beyond his sworn duty in the Louisiana matter.

ADVERTISER, BROWNVILLE, NEB.

It is a straight-forward, unvarnished narrative and commends itself for candor and truthfulness to the favorable opinion of all men of whatever politics.

The message of the President has effectually "knocked the wind" out of the puff ball resolutions of Democratic sympathizers with their White League brethren. But if Democrats will still not be pacified we might instance the case of military interference in the good old days of Democratic rule, as cited by Senator Logan in a recent speech. The arrest of Judge Hill, of New Orleans, by Gen. Jackson for issuing a writ of *habeas corpus*; the use of federal troops to arrest a fugitive slave by Franklin Pierce, and the dispersion of a Legislature in Kansas in 1856 by use of the military under the order of a Democratic President. These instances should beget a little charity in our Democratic brethren, especially as we have done nothing deserving censure.

NEWS, BOSTON.

The narrative, almost judicial in character, of the events upon which the President bases his recognition and subsequent maintenance of the Kellogg government, will be regarded not only as a vindication in general, if not in detail, of that action, but as, in fact, an indictment of the cowardly avoidance of duty on the part of Congress, in not deciding, once for all, on the validity of the judicial action. The military were directed to maintain peace, and they did it. If they erred, it was in excess of honest endeavor, and on the side of good order. The President shows also that General Sheridan was not directly responsible for either the orders or their execution. His generous but calm defense of the lieutenant general's motives and purposes will, we believe, become the second sober thought of the country.

UNION, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

On several critical occasions President Grant has demoralized his enemies and justified his defenders by public documents of remarkable practical wisdom and the soundest moral principle. No public utterance of his administration has been more timely, admirable, and effective in these respects than the message to the Senate published in the *Union* Wednesday evening, and prepared in response to the request of the Senate for information as to the course of the Federal authorities in the Louisiana troubles. The effect of the message is to knock the legs completely out from under the Opposition, and those gentlemen who foolishly made engagements before the receipt of the message

to attend indignation meetings are left in an unpleasant position. We defy any man to point out in the entire record a single instance where the President has done more than his sworn constitutional duty prescribes. It is a shame to the people of the United States that while the turning of five white rowdies into the lobby has made such a commotion, the blood of four thousand murdered negroes cries vainly for vengeance, and Colfax and Coushatta go unpunished. We do envy the American to whose cheek the recital of the President does not cause a blush of shame, that such things should disgrace any part of his country. The cruelties of the old plantation life which so horrified Northern hearts, did not compare with those perpetrated in the past two years upon the negro in the state of Louisiana. If anybody can read this story of hideous cruelty, and then go on abusing Emory, they manifest a capability of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel which to us is incredible.

SPY, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

The message of the President on the Louisiana affair will possibly change the opinions of some people who have hastily denounced him as a tyrant, plotting the subversion by military force of all our liberties and the

popular institutions founded by our fathers. It is not the language of a tyrant or usurper, certainly not that of a vindictive, wrong-headed or obstinate man. We believe it will impress every candid and thoughtful citizen as that of a conscientious and resolute magistrate, deeply impressed with a sense of the high responsibilities which he cannot evade ignore, though that other branch of the Government, which ought to share them with him, leaves him to bear them alone, positive in his convictions of duty and unflinching in his purpose to execute the law as he sees fit, but more than ready to be guided by the will of the people constitutionally expressed. This letter more than any former utterance of President Grant impresses us with the greatness of the man. Not the greatness of his wisdom, his profound knowledge of the law, nor his accomplished statesmanship, but the patient, steadfast resoluteness of the man. He is like a soldier holding an advanced post against great odds; pressed almost to extremity, he earnestly desires relief or re-enforcement, but is content to hold out longer if so it must be, and makes no complaint of the hardship of his position, nor reproaches his commander for imposing upon him this duty.

GOVERNORS BAGLEY AND DINGLEY.

Governors Bagley, of Michigan, and Dingley, of Maine, both re-elected, have done nobly for the financial and industrial interests of their respective States. In the annual message of each to the Legislature of the States over the public affairs of which they respectively preside there is manifested an earnest desire to economize the public funds, reduce the expenses, and wipe out the public debt—which, in both States, is now comparatively insignificant.

Governor Bagley's message shows a clear comprehension of all the matters touched upon, and on some questions is quite original and exhaustive. The most important thing is the suggestion of measures for reducing the sinking fund by the transference of money placed there by joint resolution of 1869, and money received from the General Government for reimbursement of war expenses. The Governor clearly shows that by taking this step it is possible to dispense with a State tax for general purposes during the years 1875-'6. In regard to the various State

institutions, educational, charitable, and reformatory, the Governor is humane, liberal, and at the same time economical in the true sense. Over one-third of the message is taken up with discussing the welfare of the dependent classes. He denounces inside rings which, in the shape of "fast freight lines," "dispatch companies," "sleeping and palace cars," suck up the life-blood of the railroads, and disable them from paying any profit or even any interest on their bonds. The liquor traffic is treated as an existing fact, which no prohibitory law can overthrow or much restrict; and the Governor recommends stringent taxation under State authority, with ample bonds for any damage caused by the traffic.

Governor Dingley transmitted a special message to the Legislature, a few days ago, in which he submitted a detailed statement of the State expenditures for the year 1874, with a view of reducing the appropriations, if it could be done without injury to the public interests. The aggregate expenditures,

after deducting sums which simply passed through the Treasury, was \$1,528,643. Of this amount \$1,142 73 was on account of debt and for educational purposes, and \$60,394 for special and exceptional appropriations, leaving \$326,177 as the correct ordinary expenses of the State. The Governor says that having already indicated in his message that the annual expenditures on account of the public debt should be reduced from about \$670,000 to \$450,000, he would not repeat his views. He suggests that whatever appropriations may be made hereafter to the Bath Home and the Bangor or any other orphan asylum shall be a fixed sum for each orphan of a soldier admitted to either institution.

He suggests that instead of continuing the appropriation of \$4,000 for teachers' institutes, that the State Superintendent hereafter visit each county, hold meetings of school committees, confer with the friends of education and make public addresses, and for such purposes he recommends a small appropriation for expenses.

He calls attention to the expenses of the Legislature, and suggests that the full compensation of subordinate officers be fixed by law in the same manner as that of members. He suggests that the amount of stationery annually distributed to members be determined by law. He suggests that as the laws are promulgated by means of "extras" by all the newspapers in the State the resolve providing for their advertisement in the State paper also should not be continued.

He recommends that a messenger hereafter be employed only when the Council is in session, and that the present appropriation be reduced. He also recommends that the compensation of Councilors both when acting on committees in recess be made definite; that the county attorneys should have their salaries paid by counties instead of by the State, and that the expense of arresting fugitives from justice be also borne by counties.

He calls attention to the practical workings of the law authorizing Justices of the Supreme Court to allow compensation from

the State Treasury to counsel for prisoners; also to the expenditures of the several departments, with a view to restrict appropriations for deputies' clerks, &c.

He suggests the discontinuance of appropriations for transportation of public documents, and that towns and individuals desiring such should pay for their transportation. He invites attention to the appropriation for the State militia and annual encampment, as well as appropriations for restocking our rivers with good fish. He suggests that the report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture be reduced in size, and says that a little more than half of the \$18,000 expended for objects relative to the encouragement of agriculture is appropriated for this report.

Governor Dingley assumes that if his recommendations are carried out in relation to taxation, the receipts from the corporations already spoken of and from national and savings banks and other interests, a sufficient sum may be received to meet the ordinary yearly expenditures of the State without assessing a single dollar on the several towns and cities. It is his opinion that under his policy a tax of only three-and-a-half mills, instead of five mills, would be sufficient.

We have called attention to the economical views of Governors Dingley and Bagley for the purpose of urging their example upon the chief executive officer, and the Legislature of each of the other States. This is a period when the most stringent economy should be observed, commensurate with the public interests, not only in the Federal Congress, but in each of the States, and the municipal corporations throughout the Union. The day of extravagance has brought its fruits, and we as a nation are now gathering them. Let us learn from the past and be wise in the future.

DEMOCRATIC rulers are evidently of small benefit to Missouri, since the message of the outgoing Governor admits that an alarming spirit of lawlessness prevails in many counties in the State. And yet there are neither carpet-baggers nor Federal military to lay the blame upon—nothing but Democratic home rule.

HENRY THE ILLUSTRIOUS, OF PORTUGAL, FORERUNNER OF COLUMBUS IN THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
November 20, 1874.

Republic Publishing Company, Washington, D. C.:

GENTLEMEN: As consul at this port for the past four years, (having been now relieved,) I have had the great satisfaction of reading your valuable magazine since the commencement of its publication.

I inclose to you herewith a sketch of "Henry, the Illustrious," of Portugal, from the literary pen of Walter M. Gibson, Esq., a citizen of these islands, an American by birth, and very competent to treat the subject on which he writes.

As it is presumed that this reliable historical sketch may be new and of interest to most of your readers, and being connected with the discovery of America—and especially in view of the approaching Centennial celebration—I have thought that it would be appropriate matter to appear in your magazine, and therefore place it at your disposal.

It was written for *The Friend*, a monthly publication here, edited by the Rev. S. C. Damon, and was published in that paper in three parts, running through three numbers. It has now been republished entire in a supplement to the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, a newspaper published in this place, and I send you said supplement.

The Rev. Dr. Damon speaks of it in his paper as follows:

"The author of 'The Prison of Weltevreden' has furnished the readers of the *Friend* with a historical sketch of much interest. Its preparation has required great research, and its style will not unfavorably compare with the charming pages of Prescott, Irving, and Bancroft."

The editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* says:

"Mr. Walter M. Gibson's sketch of 'Henry, the Illustrious,' of Portugal, which we reprint in full from the detached numbers of the *Friend*, will be found highly interesting, and we hope to see it followed by other sketches from the able and fascinating pen of the same writer. Mr. Gibson has evidently struck a new and rich vein of historical research, or rather one that has hitherto es-

caped the notice of the literary men of Europe and America. His ability, talent, and industry, and the unflagging zeal with which he pursues whatever he undertakes, may fairly warrant us in expecting something more extensive and permanent than the present monograph, when he comes to tell us of Louis de Camoens, the Portuguese poet. Camoens was born about three hundred and fifty years ago, spent fifteen years in India between 1553 and 1569, and published his celebrated "Lusiades" in 1572."

Mr. Gibson has traveled extensively, has acquired an extensive fund of information, and is a happy and pleasing writer. His native country, the United States, still fills his vision with its future glory and grandeur. He contemplates joining in the Centennial celebration in 1876.

Very respectfully, yours,

C. S. MATTOON,

Late U. S. Consul.

INITIATORY STEPS TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

The celebration of the Centenary of American independence, now near at hand, will evoke from the records of the past every utterance and action that foreshadowed the discovery of the Western hemisphere, and the growth and development of the great Republic of America. Many pens of the continent will be occupied about the time of the great anniversary in commenting upon the sayings of prescient souls, who anticipated the New World and the beneficent political promise for humanity which it should nourish and unfold unto the grand development of the present day. These prophetic voices foreshadowing discovery begin with Seneca, or perhaps earlier in the Egyptian story of Atlantis, are continued by the poets Petrarch and Pulci, are alluded to in Scandinavian legend and rune; but had their most distinct utterance and expression in the person of

PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL—BORN 1396;
DIED 1463.*

This great man, surnamed the Illustrious by his admiring countrymen, has been singularly overlooked by nearly all American

* Irving says he died in 1473. This must be a mistake. Barros says 1463; and furthermore, as Irving states, Columbus entered Lisbon in 1470 three years before the alleged death of Prince Henry, and there met Dona Felipa, the daughter of Henry's favorite captain Perestrelo, in indigent circumstances, which would not have been the case if the great patron of the Perestrelos had been alive.

writers touching on American history, although Irving, in his *Columbus*, makes prominent mention of the great work and influence of the illustrious prince in respect to the discovery of America; and it is a matter for surprise that the learned author of "Prophetic Voices" relating to America does not mention his name.* Yet this Prince was the founder of maritime enterprise, and the very apostle and creator of the spirit of discovery which led to the circumnavigation of Africa, the discovery of America, and the exploration of the Polynesian island world. His name should stand before all others as the harbinger of the new hemisphere, and of the modern spirit of enterprise and of progress among mankind. He was the "loadstone," the very seed and engendering stone of discovery—the one that helped nature in this happy conception and educated discovery to that strength that it durst venture beyond the known world to open soon after to another world.† He prepared the way, intelligibly and distinctly, for the discovery of America, but the smallness and decay of his native state have led to the obscurity of his name; therefore, let one who, though a humble sojourner in a Pacific isle, yet claims a part in the continent and in the polity that dominates it, and which sprang into being through the prescient and enlightened genius of this noble prince, speak for his fame on the eve of the great celebration, and place him where the presiding genius of the American continent may honor him.

HENRY'S ENGLISH MOTHER.

Though a son of Celtiberia, yet we of Anglo-Norman blood may claim him as one of our race, as his mother was a Princess of England. This lady was the fair, sweet Phillippa, who accompanied her gallant father, John of Gaunt, when he went as a princely filibuster along with his famous brother, the Black Prince, to fight for Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, against the heroic Joao of Portugal. She, on one occasion, when an engagement was about to take place, prompted not only by the curiosity, but by the courage and love of heroic action which animate maidens as well as men, ventured, like young David, in the naughtiness of her girlish heart, to escape from the observations of her maidens and the confinements of her tent, and go and look upon the battle, and she beheld the brave King riding at the head of her father's foes. But he appeared before her generous young soul, not as an enemy, but as a hero leading his people to battle for

the independence of their country, and the heart of the glorious English maiden was at once inspired with admiration, sympathy, and love. The fond daughter quickly touched the heart of a magnanimous father. His fair young Phillippa had been solace and companionship to him in many expeditions, and he listened to her ardent pleadings. Why should he war for a tyrant against a gallant chief fighting for his country? The entreaty of the sweet maiden was more powerful than the gold of Castile or the armies of Portugal, and so John of Gaunt offered honorable peace; and the Portuguese King, being informed of the noble and tender influence that had brought about such an unexpected and favorable diversion in his behalf, besought the English Prince for the hand of his daughter, and the beautiful, wise, and modest young Phillippa became the Queen of Portugal.*

She bore several sons, the youngest of whom, Henry, became

THE FAVORITE OF HIS MOTHER.

The eldest was to be king, the next to be general of his country, but for her favorite boy this noble mother marked out a special career. She, like many a faithful English matron, was the sole instructress of her children during the most impressive period of their youth. She inspired Henry to be a sailor, although Portugal had not then any royal navy. She pointed out the achievements of his grandfather Gaunt, who, under Edward III and Richard II, was Lord High Admiral of England. She told her noble boy, as he stood by her knee, listening with ardent heart to the words of a beautiful and inspiring mother, that the cause of the blessed Christ could never prevail beyond the limits of his native peninsula, among many nations living on the shores of the Mediterranean sea, so long as the infidel Moors held so many strongholds on the coast of Africa, from whence they issued with their piratical prowess, and kept terrified Christians forever confined to European shores; whilst beyond them, beyond the Gates of Hercules, there lay the nations visited by Hanno the Carthaginian, and far in the Western seas, no doubt, those islands of the blest, which would some day glorify the cross and the heroes who sought them out.

Oh, glorious and noble woman! What precious and fruitful seed did you implant in the heart of that earnest boy, who looked up into your beautiful eyes, and filled his soul with your high aspiring purpose like a worshiper of some heavenly inspiration.

The thoughtful and high-minded young prince under such tuition became too noble

* "Prophetic Voices Concerning America; A Monograph, by Charles Sumner," which very singularly omits any mention of Henry, the great founder of modern discovery, who distinctly prepared the way for the discovery of America. Boston, 1874.

† Purchas. Book II, p. 4.

* Walsingham's History of England. Edward III, A. D. 1367.

to waste time in the dissipations and rude sports of his country. He disdained the tourney, which occupied the attention of the young nobles of his day; and we can imagine how such a high-purposed young soul would have disdained, in our day, the paltry, puerile tourneys of billiards. He preferred the honor of learning to do some useful thing, even to fashion a timber for a ship with an ax, rather than that of overthrowing a man with a lance.*

HE PROPOSES TO INVADE AFRICA.

When about twenty years of age he conceived, under the inspiration of his mother's teaching, the purpose of attacking and destroying the great Moorish citadel and fort of Ceuta, the ancient Abyla, one of the Pillars of Hercules, that marked on the coast of Africa the entrance to the Straits of Gibraltar. When he spoke of such a purpose to his father, who was as prudent as he was brave, he was laughed at by his experienced royal sire, who told his enthusiastic boy that the Portuguese must be content to remain on the peninsula, as he had not a ship or a mariner that belonged to his crown, and he would require great fleets as well as armies to strike at Moorish power in Africa. "I will create for you ships and men," said the ardent, inspired young prince. However, to all this nonsense the wise and prudent Joao would not then for a moment listen. But after a time he is astounded to discover that his good and faithful queen is encouraging this extravagant scheme of their youngest boy. Philippa pleads with her royal husband to grant their generous son a commission that will enable him to solicit voluntary aid of men and means to undertake the crusade against Ceuta. After urgent entreaty of mother and child, the father at last reluctantly consents to what he esteems an almost insane enterprise.†

When Henry obtains the royal sanction he makes a stirring appeal to the generous youth of his own and of neighboring countries. They flock to him at Lisbon, like the Grecian heroes to Iolchos to assist Jason to obtain the golden fleece of the winged ram of Neptune. And so did Henry look for some wondrous golden fleece in Western seas; and the citadel of Ceuta and the Moorish rovers were dangers in his path to be overcome, even as Jason conquered the fiery brazen bulls, the crop of armed men and the dragon that guarded the treasure he sought. As the ancient heroes flocked unto Jason, so did brave and generous men come unto Henry from every Christian land, bringing experience, skill, and weapons to help conquer a way outside the Gates of Hercules, now held close by Moorish

piracy, along the coasts of Africa, and thence beyond to unknown worlds. And as in the ancient, so in the modern great adventure, was a womanly soul the guide and inspiration; but Philippa, the fair and noble mother, inspired for nobler objects than did the beautiful, witching maiden Medea. Yet, in any case, happiest and most fortunate are all the world's men of mark and of great deeds who have been blessed and guided by the inspiration of some faithful, loving soul of woman. In the refinement of her nature are not only sanctities, but heroisms, too much overclouded in men by the dominance of their passions; and happy is he who has a great work in the world if he can have it consecrated by the love of a woman.

HELP FROM ENGLAND.

Among the host of heroes that came to adventure under the standard of the gallant Prince, there appeared a plain, bluff Englishman named John Coffin, who was nothing more than a tallow chandler of Cheapside, London; but he came with five well-appointed ships, filled with armed partisans, and all provided by his own long purse. He came to respond to the appeal of the noble Prince, the cousin of his King, Henry V, being inspired by memories of the lovely Princess Philippa, whom he had seen, upon her palfrey, grace the streets of London.*

When the sagacious King Joao saw the force and means that had sprung up to respond to the enthusiasm and heroic purpose of Prince Henry, and especially when he saw the substantial ships of the Englishman cast anchor in the Tagus, with the banner of the Prince at their mainmasts, he felt that the enterprise had assumed a proportion which deserved the serious consideration of himself and of his government; and which it was important that he, as King, should control and direct. And thus, as usual, would conservative caution step in, as it does everywhere, to reap the fruits of the enthusiasm and enterprise of genius. And the old fogysm of the court of Lisbon was glad to avail itself of the success of an enterprise which its cautious spirit had led it to condemn. But Joao was a true Prince, who denied not to his son and his associates the full meed of glory which their enterprise deserved. He joined his armies to the enterprise, and soon the Tagus beheld a great fleet, on board of which was a great army, ready to sail for the coast of Africa.

Queen Philippa lay on a bed of sickness, whilst the fleet, being detained by contrary winds, was awaiting an opportunity to depart. Her faithful warrior boy was watch-

*Faria y Sousa, *Hist. Geral; Lafiteau, Conquetes des Portugais.*

†Mattico de Pisano. Schaeffer, *Histoire de Portugal.*

*Walsingham, in his "History of England," says that twenty-seven English ships owned by adventurers joined the expedition against Ceuta.

ing by the bedside of his precious mother, and she was encouraging him to leave her to go on his great enterprise. By and by a gust shook the casements, and she inquired, "What wind is that blowing so hard, which now shakes the chamber?" "The north wind," said her servants. "That is the right wind," she replied; and then, addressing her dear, heroic son, she urged him not to neglect his great enterprise, even for her sake. She told him that he would sail on St. James' day, then some eight days distant; and that he would be successful in his glorious enterprise, and would open up new ways for the Cross of Christ, and for bringing great glory and power to his country.

All her words were fulfilled. She was, indeed, a prophetic voice for the glory of Portugal, and deserving of mention along with her great son among the prophetic voices to be honored by America. And it would seem that she inherited the spirit from her brave father, that Gaunt, of Lancaster, who says in Shakespeare:

"Methinks I am a prophet new inspir'd;"

And then gives utterance to his glorious eulogy of England. She passed away without witnessing any of the glories of her illustrious son. The chroniclers of Portuguese history all speak of her with enthusiasm—not only of the nobility of her character, but of the great beauty of her person, which she preserved unto her latest days, along with a transcendent sweetness and serenity of disposition. She was the idol of the people, and her royal husband found it necessary, in order to win popular approval of any public act, to let it be known that it met the approbation of Queen Philippa.*

CAPTURE OF CEUTA IN 1415.

The expedition sailed on the day mentioned by the Queen. When the fleet arrived at Ceuta, Henry was the first man to leap ashore; and after three days of terrible storm and siege of one of the strongest fortresses of those times, and after forty thousand human carcasses had encumbered the streets of the Moorish city, Prince Henry was hailed as a conqueror about the same time that his cousin Harry, of England, won his great victory of Agincourt. He, standing amid the gore and debris of a sacked citadel, was honored by various titles given to him by his father; and the King then caused to be proclaimed that the Prince should ever after be hailed by his countrymen by the title of

"HENRY THE ILLUSTRIOUS."

But though this great Prince had proven

* "Tante enim opinionis apud populum quod solum illud recte factum videbatur quod ipsa comprobasset." Mattheo de Pisano, *Gesta regis Joannis*, i. c. p. 21. Schaeffer says that Queen Philippa preserved a "virginal freshness and brightness of complexion," until her last days.

himself a warrior, and a captain of the first class, like his royal father, the hero of Aljubarotta, like his grandfather, the Lord High Admiral, like his great uncle, the Black Prince, and like his uncle, Henry IV, and his cousin, Harry V, of England, yet war and conquest and the destruction of his fellow men was no passion with him, as with all his distinguished warlike and princely relatives. The capture of Ceuta was not for him an opening to further conquest, but simply a gateway by which he might enter a new pathway of discovery leading into and throughout Africa. Having established the freedom of Mediterranean waters for Portugal, and the privilege to pass unmolested through the Straits of Gibraltar, and to adventure along the coasts of Africa, he laid aside his arms, dropped the discussion of war, and became only interested in talking with men of science and with travelers. He assembled around his person African traders and travelers. He had negroes brought to him from the interior of the continent—the blacks of Jalofo—and with patient study of their language endeavored to find out some of the secrets of the great Ethiopian land. He especially wished to determine whether or no a navigable sea bounded its southern shores, and would permit a Portuguese fleet to sail along its coasts till, doubling some southern extremity, it could sail northward into the waters of India, and thence to the Red sea. He saw that this would be the great and easy highway to the treasures of the East, and, if found out by him, would win for Portugal the wealth and renown that Arabs, Egyptians, and Lombards of his day had been winning for ages. However, the Prince's passion was more for discovery than acquisition. He also preserved his mother's faith to open up new ways for the Cross, and to enhance the glory of his country by carrying her religion and her flag into unknown lands. But this ardent soul was checked by the ignorance and fears of his age. A gateway was opened, but he could find none willing to enter on the pathway beyond. A degree or two beyond the Straits was the limit of enterprise in his day. The great gulfs leading to destruction, as then supposed, lay beyond the stormy headland of Cape Non, and the navigation of those days would not leave the limits of well-known coasts.

But Henry, who had studied carefully all that was said about the navigations of Hanno, Eudoxus, Menelaus, and the Periplus of the Erythraean sea, and whose clear mind doubted not that nature was controlled and regulated in all parts of the globe even as he beheld it in the Mediterranean sea, saw that men needed more knowledge to get rid of many imaginary terrors of unknown seas, and he

resolved to concentrate all information from geographers and mariners in

A STUDY OF THE SEA.

The young Prince, in his twenty-first year, turned his back on the splendors of his father's court, and on all the opportunities for military glory in Africa and in Europe, for which he was pre-eminently qualified to win a great share, in order to study the mysteries of the sea, and to search out the great secrets of the earth.*

He retired to a retreat near the lofty headlands of Cape St. Vincent, which overlook the ocean, the object of his constant thoughts, and there he established an academy for the study of navigation, and the first observatory. He who had gathered around his standard, at one time, heroes to capture and destroy a strong city, was now equally successful in rallying around his person men of skill to enable him to assault the dangers of the deep. His chief worker was one James, of Majorca; but there came also many captains and geographers, and, among others, Perestrello, who had with him a little Philippa, that was to help wield a great influence in stimulating maritime enterprise and discovery, even as the illustrious royal Philippa had done.

THE FIRST CHART MAKER.

The especial skill of this little maiden's father was to delineate the outlines of lands and waters, and his pencil was one of the foremost, under the direction of the great Prince, to make the first charts for the purpose of navigation. A story is told by Mattheo in relation to this cartographer and his daughter, which is an illustration not only of the enthusiasm and research of the period inspired by Prince Henry, but also of the noble spirit of the women, which, in that day, stimulated the enterprise of men. Perestrello, though a noble Italian cavalier, and distinguished by his Prince for his voyages and discoveries as well as his charts, was somewhat negligent in respect to his means of subsistence, and, on one occasion, when he desired to execute a large chart, he had no proper material for his delineation, and he could not conveniently procure it, not having in his purse even a solitary maravedi; but the enthusiastic and loving Philippa, understanding the need, and sympathizing with the desire of her zealous father, took from her scanty wardrobe a garment of fine linen, which furnished the desired surface for the delineations of the cartographer. And this Philippa, beautiful and enthusiastic, and of a nature to inspire men of high purpose, became

THE WIFE OF COLUMBUS.*

Here was a Philippa fitted to continue the inspiration begun by the royal Philippa, and the great Prince, the promoter of discovery, and the great discoverer himself, both derived their inspiration from two women of the same name, both naturalized in Portugal, the one an English woman and the other an Italian, and the world should recognize how much the founders of its greatest movements and acquisitions in modern days were indebted to the inspiration of two noble women, who, in an era that produced an Isabella of Spain, showed that noble feminine souls grasped and even prompted every high purpose of the foremost men of an enterprising age of the world.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE MARRIAGE OF COLUMBUS.

It is well to consider the opportunities and influences that attended the marriage of the discoverer of America with the fair depositary of the accumulated knowledge and experience of the founder of the spirit of modern discovery and of ocean navigation; and if we glance at the achievements of the latter, undertaken with such zeal and maintained with such perseverance, the records and evidences of which were preserved by the noble Dame Perestrello and her daughter, we then can form some opinion of the value of the knowledge and inspiration which Columbus derived from his union with the fair Philippa Perestrello in conceiving and carrying out the discovery of a new world.

HENRY'S PASSION FOR DISCOVERY.

The devotion of our illustrious Prince to the purpose of research and to enlarge the knowledge of our earth would be remarkable in this day; and how marvelous must his character appear when we consider that his genius shone alone amid the darkness of an ignorant, brutal, and bigoted age. His desire to penetrate beyond the dark bounds of the then supposed impassable ocean became a passion that possessed his soul and occupied his very dreams, like a pure, great, and ardent love. The memory and admonition of his noble, inspiring mother were never out of his heart, and it was her spirit that had kindled and continued to prompt his genius. It is recorded by Mattheo and others that often as he wandered meditatively along by the brink of the bold bluffs of Sagres, on the coast of Algarve, he would pause in his walk, and, looking westward

*Irving says it was a "match of mere affection." And if it had been a match of mere fortune, with the daughter of some rich grandee of Lisbon, Columbus very likely would not have been the discoverer of America; but living, as he did, in poverty, with the enthusiastic wife and daughter of Perestrello, who had preserved all the maps, charts, and memoranda of this captain and confidant of the great Prince Henry, Columbus had every opportunity to nourish his genius and inspire his mind.

*"Começando do tepo do Infante Dom Enrique que foy o primeiro inventor desta milicia austral et oriental." De Barros, Decada Primeira dos feitos que os Portuguezes fezeram. Fol. 4, 1628.

across the rolling waters of the Atlantic, he would seem, by his wistful gaze and impassioned gesture, to be yearning, like an anxious lover, to behold some object that lay beyond the great wavy desert before him, and that object was some fair, new land in western seas, not yet seen by European eyes.

HENRY CONCEIVES THE IDEA OF A NEW WORLD.

Castaneda and other authors of the sixteenth century state distinctly, and the Abbe Prevost, early in the eighteenth century, in his great work, "*Histoire Generale des Voyages*," repeats, that Henry originated and organized ocean navigation solely with the view to discover new lands and a new world.* His intelligent estimate of the form and dimensions and general character of the terraqueous globe convinced his observant and prescient mind that the vast ocean must embrace within its extent great spaces of terra firma not yet known; and he doubted not, from his calculations in respect to the extent of the earth's circumference, that there must be a mighty space between Europe and India westward, where intervening islands or continents must be found. But it must be stated that Henry's ruling idea was to reach India by sea by sailing around the continent of Africa.

THE AGE OF CHIVALRY.

And when our young Prince† so thought and planned, as the apostle of discovery, and as the first mathematician of his time—all others of his rank, and of that period, were solely interested in the panoply and butchery of real or mock war. During the Prince's youth his countryman, Vasco de Lobeira, who was knighted by Henry's father after the great victory of Aljubarotta, had inflamed the heart of young Europe with the romance of "*Amadis de Gaul*"—and the rash and senseless adventures of the knight-errant Amadis, of Galaor, the "son of the Sea," of Lisuarte, and of Oriana, the "peerless lady," were then of infinitely more interest and consequence to the noble youth of those days than anything that the stars, or the ocean, or the whole universe could unfold. And the genius and noble spirit of Henry in opposing the idle spirit of chivalry, which, perhaps, had its value in a lawless age, sought to correct by rational enterprise that which the wit of Cervantes, in Don Quixote, ultimately cured.

*Ce fut le Prince Henri, troisieme fils de Jean et de Phillipa, qui forma le projet de la decouverte d'un nouveau monde par la navigation. Prevost. *Histoire Generale des Voyages*. Tome 1 er, livre 1 er page 6. Prevost was a translator and compiler of English history of maritime discovery.

†The Prince was nineteen years of age at the time of the conquest of Ceuta, and established his college and observatory at Ternaubal, near Cape Sagres, or St. Vincent, two years afterward.

THE COMPASS, THE QUADRANT, AND THE CHART.

The son of Phillipa alone, in his day, watched the seas and studied the heavens to find out new pathways leading to new regions of the globe. He was among the foremost to conceive the advantage of the magnet to enable the mariner to strike out boldly into the open sea, and no longer timorously hug a visible coast; and so he first brought the compass into practical use for navigation. His observations of heavenly bodies led the way to the perfecting of the astrolabe by Rodrigo, Joseph, and Behem during the reign of his grand-nephew, John II, which was practically as available for celestial observation as the quadrant now in use. And in order to preserve a record of all observations at sea, and of discoveries of lands, Henry organized at Ternaubal, on the headlands of Cape Sagres, the first observatory in the world, in which he was assisted by a corps of skillful geographers and cosmographers, who there drew the first marine charts as aids to navigation. In consequence of all these efforts and acquisitions to promote navigation, this great Prince has been pre-eminently named

"HENRY THE NAVIGATOR."

What could have fed the enthusiasm of such a soul to contemplate so ardently enterprises and adventures that were utterly condemned by the spirit of his age? The ignorant objections which Columbus encountered at Salamanca were advanced knowledge when compared with the gross, sodden superstition that stood in the way of Henry. His purpose of sailing beyond Cape Non, the limit of European adventure, west of the Straits of Gibraltar, and to pass into the torrid regions beyond was considered a sacrilegious invasion of awful gulfs of sea and of desert wastes of land reserved as a mysterious retreat for invisible powers. Henry could not, in consequence of this ignorance and opposition, even in the highest places, obtain from his own brother on the throne, who had spent his time in sports and parades, the slightest help in order to prosecute his designs; but, fortunately, he was not a poor adventurer like Columbus, to weary out his soul by toying around an ignorant and an unappreciative court; he had an income of some consequence, derived from the territorial gifts of his royal father, as Duke of Visco and Lord of Corvilhao, given to him after the victory of Ceuta; but this income was chiefly obtained from his position as Grand Master of the Military Order of Christ, and with the means and with the faithful associates in connection with this order of Christian knighthood, the Prince was enabled to prosecute the enlightened purposes of his soul.

HE TEACHES AND LECTURES.

In his quiet retreat on the bold headland of Cape Sagres, or St. Vincent, he talked with his brother knights and late companions in arms in African warfare like a professor, and inspired them like a prophet. He declared that he felt it was even as his blessed mother had said, that God had appointed him to open up new ways and lands for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ and the great glory of Portugal. But he especially pointed out to his companions the absurdity and the worthlessness of the chivalrous dreams of the day, which peopled unknown lands with giants, and fairies, and monstrous animals that were impossibilities, and set forth to them that the rest of the globe not known to the civilized world must be animated by human beings and other creatures as natural in their organization as those they beheld in their own quarter of the earth. And he then inflamed their minds with the vision he presented of the glory and consequence that would accrue to their country and to themselves in the event of finding new lands, with new people, with whom they could establish friendly and profitable intercourse, and also enlarge the bounds of human knowledge and sympathy.

FIRST VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

What a hope was awakened among these young enthusiasts, as they were inspired by this princely lecturer! This was the first germ of modern progress—Sagres was its cradle, and Henry was its prophet. He was not an idle dreamer, or mere visionary; he was a laborious student in the acquisition of knowledge, and yet he seemed to be moved to many of his enterprises less by calculation than by an impulse of soul or inspiration. It is related that one night his dreams and reflections about discoveries of new lands so possessed his soul that he roused up with fervid emotion, and calling around him his followers, and speaking of his impressions during the night as a vision from God, he appointed two of their number, who had some experience as seamen, to take command of two caravels then in the port of Lagos, near by, to put out to sea and to sail down the African coast into the unknown seas that had not yet been ventured into on account of European ignorance and fears. And forthwith, on this very day, sometime in the spring of 1416, this first voyage undertaken for the sake of discovery since the days of the ancient Greeks and Phœnicians was commenced, and the Prince's caravels passed beyond Cape Non, the point on the coast of Africa, east of the Canaries, which was then regarded as the tabooed limit of European enterprise. But these pioneer dis-

coverers* did not venture more than one hundred and eighty miles beyond the forbidden point, having been terrified by tempestuous seas, by the break and turmoil of the waters that ever fret and foam around Cape Bojador, and considering this point as the entrance to some vast and destructive whirlpools and absorbing gulfs, they put their vessels about and returned to Portugal.

HIS UNQUENCHABLE HOPE AND PERSEVERANCE.

The enthusiastic Prince was not in the least discouraged by the poor results of the voyage; his enlightened mind rightly judged that the especial commotion of the sea around an advanced point of the African coast, which had terrified his inexperienced captains, must be an agitation and clash of waters caused by some strong and extensive currents and counter-currents, which could be avoided and passed by standing well out to sea, and by trusting to the compass in order to double the point. Therefore he ordered a strong-built caravel to be got ready for another voyage, and this he placed in charge to two faithful officers of his household, named Juan Gonzales Zarco and Tristan Vaz Texeira, who fully partook of their patron's enthusiasm, and were determined to encounter all the terrors of the African seas.

SECOND VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

Their courage and skill as seamen were soon tested. Not many days after passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and while standing well out to sea, in order to make a course clear of the supposed stormy capes of the African coast, they were struck by a sudden and furious tempest, which drove them away from the Continent to the southwest. For three days Henry's officers and their company momentarily expected to be engulfed in a raging sea. But the stout little ship withstood well the terrible buffeting of the storm-tossed waters, and the brave Zarco and Texeira, standing day and night with undaunted nerve by the helm, whilst the affrighted sailors were groveling and prostrate, and praying to saints, were at last relieved by the subsidence of the gale, and then a clear sky revealed to them the blessed sight of land, which proved to be entirely new, with a strange people and a novel vegetation for European eyes. The grateful and devout young officers, thankful for their safety and the opportunity of repose, called the island Puerto Santo, or the Holy Port, and this was the

FIRST SPECIAL OCEAN DISCOVERY.

And as they found its people comely and gentle, befitting the character of the Fortu-

*I do not find the names of these two captains, engaged in the first voyage of discovery, mentioned by Castaneda, Navarette, Faria y Sousa, Galvan, Laiteau, Barros, Purchas, Prevost or by any other chroniclers of this event. A. P. W.

nate Isles, supposed to exist in those seas, and observed that the soil was very fertile, they were so delighted with the discovery, that they resolved not to continue the search along the African coast, but to return with their present acquisition of knowledge and with evidences of their discovery to their expectant patron.

Prince Henry was delighted with the account given of this first discovery, and first fruits of his genius and enterprise. He thanked God and rejoiced as though he had gained a great victory. It is true that other islands, Lancerota, Fuertaventura, and all the group of the Canaries had been discovered some time before, in 1395, but these islands are close to the African coast, and their discovery was accidental; whereas the discovery of Puerto Santo, though partly accidental, was the result of a scientifically planned ocean voyage.

THE FIRST OCEAN COLONY.

Immediately he planned a scheme of colonization; and, in regard to the spirit of colonizing, he as fully anticipated the great and gallant Raleigh, as he did in the spirit of discovery the enlightened and persevering Columbus. He denied himself not only the luxuries, but many of the proper conveniences of his station, in order to fit out three caravels well manned. On board these he placed several laborers fitted for settlers, persuaded to go by tempting inducements, and who carried with them a varied stock of domestic animals, and all kinds of grains and plants valuable for cultivation. The two brave officers, Zarco and Texeira, each had command of a vessel, and the third one was placed in charge of Bartholomew Perestrello, the zealous chart-maker, and father of the devoted, filial Phillipa.

THE FIRST COLONIAL GOVERNOR.

This Italian gentleman, who had won the confidence of the Prince by his skill and courage, was placed in command of the expedition and appointed governor of the island. And thus was the father-in-law of Columbus importantly engaged in the pioneer work of discovery, and he was the first colonizer and planter in newly-discovered western ocean lands. But Perestrello did not succeed in the cultivation of the island. He lost at sea and by sickness on land all his useful productive animals, and of all his live stock he preserved only a pair of rabbits.

THE FIRST COLONY DESTROYED BY RABBITS.

This healthy pair of rodents and burrowers flourished and increased on Puerto Santo with such wonderful fecundity that in about three years all the small hand-cultivation of Perestrello's people was destroyed by them. No doubt the cosmographer neglected the farming of his island. He found his most

congenial occupation in the tracing of charts, and in writing up his journal and an account of his observations; and when so occupied his people were neglectful, and so, no doubt, the rabbits got ahead of his cultivation.* He abandoned the governorship and proprietorship of the colony, which was vested in him, in order to return to take part in more congenial work for the Prince at Sagres. There he assisted James, of Majorca, the chief of the college and observatory established by Prince Henry, in tracing out new coasts discovered, and the courses of voyages already made, in preparing plans for new ones about to be undertaken by Henry's navigators. His son-in-law, the Great Discoverer, afterward went with his wife, Phillipa, to reside on Puerto Santo in order to get a living out of the wild property bequeathed by the cosmographer; but Columbus proved as poor a farmer or ranchero as his father-in-law, and gained nothing but some increase of knowledge and the birth of his son, Diego, in Puerto Santo.

When Perestrello's expedition returned from Puerto Santo with nothing to show for the cost and the hopes of the venture, the scoffers, and those who esteemed the Prince's enterprises as not only madly visionary, but sacrilegious, had now ample occasion for critical comment. But the intelligent perseverance of this matchless Hero of Portugal was wonderful. He never relaxed for a day, during forty odd years of his life, the pursuit of discovery. He foresaw the navigation around the dread southern coasts of Africa unto India, and the discovery of mid-ocean lands as in a vision—therefore disappointments and losses were to him stimulants to greater exertions, and not hindrances.

DISCOVERY OF MADEIRA.

Again he sent forth his two brave captains, Zarco and Texeira, who, sailing to the southward and westward of Puerto Santo, discovered the island of Madeira, whose dense forests caused it to receive this Portuguese name for wood. This lovely and fertile island, like Puerto Santo, had no doubt a people and a name of its own;† but they have passed away, and the footstep of the civilized discoverer has obliterated every trace of the aboriginal dweller. The first act of the discoverers was to set fire to the dense forests, which fed a

*Fairia y Sousa relates the story about the rabbits. †It is stated that Madeira when first discovered was uninhabited; but this is very remarkable, in view of the fact that the neighboring small island of Puerto Santo was inhabited. Many facts connected with the colonization of the island by Prince Henry would lead to the belief that Madeira had an aboriginal population before the arrival of the Portuguese. The tradition of a prior accidental discovery of this island by Machim, an Englishman cast away on its shores, along with his run-away bride, Ann of Dorset, who died here, does not seem to be well substantiated.

conflagration that was not fairly extinguished till after a lapse of seven years. And when the virgin soil of this fertile land was fully exposed then the enterprise of Henry caused the establishment of a colony and plantations, which were fully successful, and contributed largely to the revenues of the Prince and to the advancement of his subsequent enterprises.

THE FIRST SUGAR-CANE PLANTATION.

This colony of Madeira was the nursery of two notable things of momentous consequences in the history of all subsequently discovered and colonized western countries. One was the introduction into this island of some growing shoots of a beneficent plant, obtained by Prince Henry in Sicily, but originally brought from southeastern Asia, and spoken of by an old Biblical prophet as the "sweet cane from a far country." Our practical, as well as enthusiastic Prince planned, organized, and established the first sugar-cane plantation; and such was his success as a planter that, after about five years of planting experience on Madeira, his intendant was enabled to return to him 60,000 arrobas of sugar. This was only twenty per cent. of the annual product of the island, and was reserved as the especial revenue of the Military Order of Christ, of which the Prince was Grand Master.

THE NEGRO.

And the other notable matter was the labor by which this tropical staple was produced so abundantly. By what hands did our noble Prince and the most Christian order over which he presided produce this profitable result? Not by voluntary Portuguese agriculturists, who could not be induced to exile themselves and could hardly be procured except by penal enforcement; and not by any aboriginal people of this or of neighboring islands. But Africa's black children, that had been toiling involuntarily ages upon ages as chattels for Asia, were now for the first time employed by Europeans in extracting wealth out of the new lands of the West.

PRINCE HENRY A SLAVE-HOLDER.

His acquiescence in the bondage of his fellow-men will to many minds dim the glory of our great Prince; and, although he was the Apostle of the Spirit of Discovery, the Founder of Modern Progress, the first Modern Colonizer, the first utilizer of the compass, the quadrant, and the chart, and the inventor of ocean navigation, yet in his character as first planter and negro slave owner of Europe in the newly discovered lands in Occidental seas, he will seem to tarnish the brilliancy of his otherwise lustrous fame. But the Prince, though far in advance of the political intelligence and enterprise of his

age, was not, and could not dream of being superior to the humanity of the faith derived from his sainted mother, and held by the civilized world in his day as the only salvation of mankind. His readings of St. Paul and other primitive Fathers of the Church taught him that human bondage was not acquiesced in, but indorsed by them; he knew that slaves had been bought and sold in Christian Rome. Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Persia, and Rome in their days of power, and even Venice and Florence down to his time, had used the negro as a traditional slave. The sentiment of Latin Europe had been accustomed to the enslavement of the African; but even had our Prince's mind been trained by the Germanic sentiment, which is the foundation of our spirit of human liberty, it would not, in the fifteenth century, have enlightened his spirit of humanity in respect to African bondage. The negro was then everywhere, as in ages past, the symbol of slavery. Grecian and Roman sentiments of liberty had never applied to such a traditional slave race, whose chief industry and commerce with the stranger was in the enslavement of and trade in themselves. And there was no question of humanity or of human liberty in Prince Henry's mind, no more than there was in the mind of the noble and generous Isabella of Castile, when they permitted the enslavement of their black or savage fellow-beings. The inhumanity belonged to their age, and to the whole past sentiment of the world; and the nineteenth century has only in our day seen and felt and sought to redress this wrong.

HENRY'S HUMANITY.

But his humanity in all other respects was of the noblest character, and far superior to the age in which he lived. He was notably the friend of the poor, and the chivalrous defender of the oppressed; although this will seem so contradictory, when he could permit the African to be torn from his home and to toil on his plantations. But it was the African's countryman who tore him away from his home, and sold him to the stranger for a small price. Henry would not permit violence and injustice to be done by his own people. He was frequently obliged to repair, at great sacrifice, the injustices perpetrated by his officers abroad. Captain Suero da Costa had obtained seventy slaves at Palma, but his superior officer, Joao de Castilla, who when Costa reported to him was recruiting at Gomera, one of the Canary islands, not being satisfied with the success of his lieutenant, kidnapped a sufficient number of the friendly Gomerans to make up a complement of one hundred slaves for Madeira. When the Prince heard of this outrage upon those whom he deemed not only a friendly, but a free people, he ordered that they should be well

clothed and returned, with an abundance of gifts, unto their own country.

"Le talent de bien faire."

The Prince was more zealous to do good than to win fame. He had all the religious zeal of Columbus and of Magellan. He was as eager as a Jesuit to work for the greater glory of God; but yet he was not inclined to sacrifice his fellow-men as mere dead matter ("perinde ac cadaver") in the accomplishment of this object. His great desire was to do good in the world; and with this sentiment in his heart he adopted his famous motto, the French words, "Le talent de bien faire," or the talent of doing good, which was affixed as an inscription in every land where his navigators went.

HENRY AS A MISSIONARY.

When Jean de Bataneour, the Norman, ceded to Prince Henry the Canary islands for a portion of the island of Madeira the Prince sent a large expeditionary force of about 2,500 men, mainly recruited from his Military Order of Christ, in order partly to colonize the group, but chiefly to convert the native people to the true faith. The zealous religious officers of Henry succeeded admirably in advancing the cross at the point of the sword. Perhaps the poor, ignorant Guanches could not appreciate great truths without some such sharp and incisive argumentation. They believed, and then passed away to the last man after the reception of the new faith. Alas! for such a salvation, which had no promise whatever for this world! Henry did not appreciate it as his officers did. He became disgusted with this plan of propagandism, and abandoned it and the islands. But here we see the beginning of the decay and destruction that has ever attended the progress of enlightened discovery and the beneficent intentions of philanthropy. Guanche, Carib, and Indian have utterly passed away, either by reason of oppression or the abrogation of their old conditions of life. The illustrious Henry, in leading the way to the discovery of the savage world, was no doubt the unconscious instrument that commenced the destruction of its simple-minded people; but his spirit of humanity prompted him to be a saviour rather than a destroyer of his fellow-men, and we must not contemplate him as the one who, having unveiled the mystery of the ocean, led the way to the destruction of innocent savage races; but rather as the founder of the new, progressive era of civilization that now explores and peoples every nook of our planet.

The purpose of this monograph has been somewhat exceeded in dilating upon many particulars in the history of the Prince, not relevant to the establishment of his claim as

the forerunner of Columbus in the discovery of America. But the writer of this sketch, whilst setting forth this especial claim of the Portuguese Prince, was tempted to gratify the intelligent readers of the *Friend* with some few additional incidents of interest in the history of his favorite hero. That Henry led the way to all the ocean discovery since his day will be recognized from the facts already adduced; but let us follow a little further the progress of his lieutenants along the coast of Africa, and observe his efforts to reach India by a direct sea way, which was, we know, the sole purpose of Columbus.

ANCIENT DREAD OF OCEAN NAVIGATION.

Those who read old chroniclers of the fifteenth century, and more particularly Castaneda, Galvan, Barros, and other writers of the early part of the sixteenth century, can appreciate, from their account, the dread entertained in the mind of civilized Europe in respect to the dangers of the sea along Africa's southern coast line, and the terror of ocean navigation before the genius of Henry dissipated those fears. For a time none of his enthusiastic associates and brave officers could be induced to attempt to double the stormy cape of Bojador, in the twenty-seventh degree of north latitude. It is difficult, at first thought, for us to understand their fears, we, who have run down the whole coast of Africa, and have struck out boldly on many an ocean path, with a well-appointed ship and with ample sailing appliances, with chronometer, quadrant, compass, and chart. But our surprise ceases when we reflect that Henry's navigators had to cruise in vessels that were little better than large open boats. Where are the mariners of this day who will voluntarily venture, even on a well-known ocean path in an undecked craft? Whereas those amateur Portuguese seamen were persuaded to make ventures with their frail vessels out into unknown seas, and without any of the appliances that enlighten our way. We cannot appreciate their fears when sailing in a modern, well-built, well-appointed, thousand-ton clipper; but we might better understand them if buffeted about in mid-Atlantic on board a fifteenth century twenty or thirty-ton caravel. Therefore we may recognize some good reason for the fears of navigators early in the fifteenth century, not only in the ignorance of the sea, but in the weakness and ill-appointed condition of the ships that had to venture on an obscure and stormy ocean path; and so we can understand that when Lancelot Gilianez, one of Henry's lieutenants, doubled Cape Bojador, in 1434, his exploit awakened as great an interest, and excited Europe quite as much in his time as the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by

de Gama, or even the discovery of America by Columbus, did in their day.*

EUROPE AROUSED TO MARITIME ENTERPRISE.

The voyage of Gilianez, and the subsequent voyages of Gonzalez and Baldaya, and especially that of Tristan, in 1443, who first brought slaves from the coast of Guinea, and gold from Rio d'Oro, which were all expeditions planned and fitted out by Henry, fully aroused the spirit of adventure in Portugal. Henry had his enthusiasm satisfied by geographical discovery alone, without caring for any prizes to gratify cupidity; but his countrymen and the other peoples of Europe were only aroused somewhat to recognize the correctness of his views and the wisdom of his enterprises when the shining gold and the profitable glossy black slave dazzled their eyes. The western ports of the Iberian Peninsula then became the starting points and chief sources of European enterprise, and of all modern progress in navigation, discovery, and trade. Portugal alone led the civilized world in the fifteenth century to discover another savage world, nearly a century in advance of others, and Henry was the sole inspiration of Portugal.†

*Prevost says: "Cette action fut mise par les cervains du son tens, au dessus des travaux d'Hercule." This exploit (the doubling of Cape Bojador) was placed by the writers of his time far above the labors of Hercules.

†Navarro, in his "Collection des Viages," boasts of the maritime enterprise of Castilians and Biscayans in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but it was certainly confined strictly to coasting commercial ventures. Portugal alone is entitled to all the glory of commencing and for a long time carrying on alone the enlightened pursuit of discovery. Prevost says, liv. prem., p. 3: "On confesse néanmoins que les Portugais furent les premiers qui tentèrent la navigation de l'Océan, et qui firent naître aux autres nations de l'Europe le dessein de chercher un nouvel hémisphère. Les Espagnols étoient si éloignés de former cette pensée, que non seulement ils ne commencèrent à s'en occuper que près de quarante (soixante dix?) ans après leurs voisins, mais que dans cette intervalle ils considèrent crant les entreprises des Portugais comme autant d'aventures romanesques, et d'effets d'une imagination déréglée. Ils eurent long-temps la même opinion de ceux qui leur proposèrent d'en imiter l'exemple, et quoi avoit déjà réussie dans quelque partie de l'exécution. L'expérience fut seule capable de les convaincre que les Portugais avoient raisonné juste, et que les espérances de Colomb n'étoient pas moins solides." It must be confessed, nevertheless, that the Portuguese were the first who essayed ocean navigation, and who gave birth among European nations to the design of searching for a new hemisphere. The Spaniards were so far from the conception of such a thought that not only did they not give it any attention till forty (seventy?) years after their neighbors, but during this interval they looked upon the enterprise of the Portuguese as so many romantic adventures, and the effects of a disordered imagination. They had, for a long time, the same opinion of those who proposed to imitate their (the Portuguese) example, and who had already succeeded in some part of the execution of their plans. Experience alone sufficed to convince them that the Portuguese had reasoned justly, and that the hopes of Columbus were well founded.

THE POPE GIVES TO HENRY THE NEW WORLD.

Our patriotic Prince had great hopes, after the doubling of the redoubtable Cape Bojador, to win a mighty domain from the unknown world for his country, and hoping to bind forever the new discoveries to the interests of his native land, he appealed to an authority and an influence then esteemed superior to that of all earthly kings—to Christ's Vicegerent at Rome—to grant unto him, in behalf of his beloved country, all political authority forevermore over all the new found lands acquired by his enterprises of ocean navigation and discovery. The great and enterprising Prince was sustained by an enlightened Pope, and he who was esteemed the king of kings in 1432, Martin V, issued a bulla from the Vatican, granting unto Prince Henry, in behalf of the crown of Portugal, the suzerainty in perpetuity over all territories, states, and kingdoms which should be discovered by Portuguese navigators in the regions lying beyond Cape Bojador unto the Indies, and all new countries of the African and Indian seas eastward unto the great ocean, whose princes and whose peoples were heathens; and furthermore, there was granted to all the officers and mariners of Henry a plenary indulgence, and ample assurance of everlasting bliss in heaven should they perish in carrying out the designs of their great patron.* Ah! this was success for Henry, who had been laughed at by his royal father when he proposed the expedition to Ceuta, and mocked and scorned by his brother princes for his so-called visionary schemes of adventure, now to be recognized as sovereign lord over new domains, a hundred fold greater than his own little native strip of Europe, and he and his associates to be assured of being saints should they die whilst prosecuting the work of discovery, and of conquering, capturing, or converting their unbelieving fellow men.

THE FIRST EAST INDIA COMPANY.

But the best result of Henry's success was the stimulation of private enterprise. The first gold fever of modern times then set in, and affected all the noble and daring youth of Portugal. Lagos became a great expeditionary port, in which private companies were formed, and from which private expeditions set out. Gilianez, the bold navigator, who had doubled Cape Bojador, formed a company along with three of his friends, Alonzo, Alvarez, and Diaz, who had some property, and who owned ten caravels ready for sea; and they obtained a charter from Prince Henry in 1444 which authorized them to prosecute discovery, colonization,

*Vasconcelos. Hist. de Ioao II. Castaneda, Hist. 1553.

and the quest of gold on the coast of Guinea. This was the first company of adventuring traders and colonizers, upon the model of which the Spanish, English, Dutch, and all subsequent East or West India companies were formed.*

ITALIANS PATRONIZED BY HENRY.

Adventurers of every nation, class, and profession—warriors and geographers, as well as traders—flocked to Portugal; not to the royal court at Lisbon, but to the court of genius and of enterprise, situated upon the bold promontory of Sagres and in the ocean port of Lagos. It was mostly Italians of ability and enterprise, especially those of Genoa, Venice, and Florence, who eagerly sought the new Portuguese field of adventure. Their governments were so deeply interested in the lucrative overland trade with India, which they had controlled as a source of commercial pre-eminence in Europe for ages, that they would not offer the slightest encouragement to the new African and ocean enterprise of Portugal, which threatened an interference with their monopoly. Therefore their sons of genius, who had no employment in this monopoly and who thirsted for noble maritime adventure outside of the Mediterranean, hastened to the generous court of enterprise of our illustrious Henry, who promised glory and reward in unknown seas. There came Antonio de Noli and Cadamosto, the Venetian, who discovered the Cape de Verde Islands; and there we have seen Perestrelo, the Florentine, executing the Prince's marine charts and revising the logs of the voyages of his lieutenants; and what a pity that Columbus, the Genoese, had not arrived in Portugal a little earlier, say in 1450 or 1460, instead of 1470, seven years after the death of Henry. He would not in such a case have wasted time with selfish, conceited, and jealous ruling princes at Lisbon or Madrid; but being received at once by the enlightened and enterprising Prince at Lagos, he would have had his purpose and genius not only appreciated, but, furthermore, inspired and stimulated. Ah! indeed he would have found the very conception and enterprise that have given his name to everlasting fame then and there in the soul of Henry, as he did afterward in the records of the great Prince.

WHAT HENRY DID FOR THE WORLD.

Thus was public spirit aroused in Portugal, and all Europe awakened to a new departure of beneficent enterprise and progress by the genius of a prince. A devotee of the

Church of Christ, the monk and hermit Peter, had once inspired Europe to waste its blood and treasure to rescue and guard a doubtful tomb of Christ; but here was the son of a king and a knight of Christ, who sought to inspire the old world to forget its crusading chimera about a vacant sepulchre, and to expend its enterprise and means in seeking to enlarge the Kingdom of the Redeemer on this earth by the discovery of vast unknown lands and peoples, by the discovery even of a new world. He directed the enterprise of the chivalry of Europe in a channel that has originated all the modern progress of civilization. He proved the navigability of the seas along the African coast. He tested the feasibility of ocean voyages. He had through his lieutenants discovered the Madeira isles, the Cape de Verde group, and other ocean islands unknown before to Europe. He had awakened a new era for his country and the world. And yet whatever Henry won and saw in his day was far from commensurate with his great labors and his greater hopes.

HENRY DOES NOT BEHOLD HIS PROMISED LAND.

Our inspired Prince was the Moses of modern discovery, that led Europe out of the dark Egypt of geographical ignorance, after passing the Red sea of Ceuta, through the desert of an unknown navigation unto the hope of a new land of promise; but Henry, like his Israelitish prototype, was only permitted to get a glimpse of the Canaan of his hopes. After spending all his resources and the efforts of his life on more than a score of maritime expeditions for discovery,* the least of which was equal to the little naval venture that was eked out of the generosity and sympathy of a woman, and which sailed from Palos to discover a new hemisphere; after spending a princely fortune and the fire of a great soul, in trying to inspire all the noble and adventurous spirits of the world who came to him to go and discover new lands and new people; yet with all this effort he had not run down more than fifteen hundred miles of African coast, and had not sailed but a few hundred miles out into the ocean beyond the shores of the old world when he died. Perhaps if he had not been a prince he would have gone with his own expeditions, and have won the signal glory of a great discoverer in person.

THE PRINCELY SOWER THAT DID NOT REAP.

In reading the history of this hero we feel sorrowful that he who planned so greatly and labored so much should have obtained so little visible success in his day. He laid the foundation and drew the designs of a

*Gillanez and his associates, Etienne Alouzo, Rodrigue Alvarez, and Jean Diaz formed a joint stock company in the town of Lagos, 1444. Barros-Faria y Sousa.

*Prince Henry fitted out about twenty maritime expeditions for the purpose of discovery, in which were employed about 170 vessels.

building, but others have won all the glory of the superstructure. Thus does one man sow and another reap; and there is more consideration attached to the visible product of the reaper than to the hidden labor of the sower. But both should have their honor and reward of fame, and when you speak of the justly glorious achievements of Columbus, of Vasco de Gama, and of Magellan, you must not pass by in silence those of Henry the Illustrious. What these great men achieved were realizations of ideas and purposes of Prince Henry, and made feasible for them by the spirit of discovery which he originated, and by the facilities for ocean navigation which he invented or put into practical use.

THE DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HENRY.

Henry died November, 1463, at the age of sixty-seven. His private life was as remarkable for its purity and uprightness as his public career was for its beneficence and luster. He never married. He lived a celibate all his days, his name was never associated with any female intrigue, so common in his age and country, and as he is represented as a robust, healthy, and very handsome Prince,* of a most genial social disposition; we may wonder at his denial to himself of the joys of a family.† He certainly could not be a woman later after his worship of his mother. Perhaps it was this worship and undying filial love for the blessed Philippa, the inspirer of his genius, that caused him ever to preserve the memory of the character of the exalted mother as a standard in his mind to which the ladies of the Court of Portugal could not approach. He was noted for his lively humor, fine conversational powers, and enjoyment of society. The ladies of his little court—the wives and daughters of his officers and followers—enjoyed much of his company, and shared socially in the vivacity of his spirit, which was animated and graced

by poetical taste and refinement; but he ever maintained a certain reserve, and did not mark any of the fair sex with a preference. No doubt a man so ardent and so generous must have loved a woman as the necessary complement and companion of his life; this love must have been lost and hidden away somewhere in his life—and such a loss—a great and delicate soul like his would never reveal. His purity of life, coupled with his ardent enterprising nature, was the wonder of his country and of all Europe, for where was the prince or man in those or in these days of whom it could be said as it is said of him, "he had not one bad habit?"

HENRY NOT APPRECIATED BY HIS PEERS.

This Anglo-Celtiberian Prince lived pre-eminently for his country and to do good unto mankind. He, a direct descendant of William the Conqueror, kinsman of all the princely warriors of Europe of his day, and an eminent approved warrior himself, gave up his life to works of peace and enlightened progress. His genius was despised by his peers in Europe, and although private adventurers flocked unto his standard as to that of a glorious captain; yet the princes of England, of Spain, and even of his own Portugal considered his schemes as the result of an ill regulated imagination, and as destructive of true chivalric adventure, and of feudal princely consequence. His brothers and other kinsmen on the throne of Portugal accorded him only a grudging assistance as in the case of his father, who was forced into the successful expedition of Ceuta. And it was so that when Columbus sought enterprise and fortune in Portugal in 1470, the king who then reigned at Lisbon, though a capable and politic prince, did not appreciate the truth of the enlightened views of his late deceased great kinsman as the adventuring Genoese mariner did, and so Portugal lost the larger part of the great glory that her illustrious Prince had devised for her.

THE FOUNDER OF DISCOVERY AND THE DISCOVERER.

One is tempted again and again to reflect upon and regret all the possibilities that would have attended an earlier visit of Columbus to Portugal. Had he come at the same time with Noli, Perestrello, and other able Italians, he would no doubt have become one of Prince Henry's captains, and have discovered America much earlier than he did. Or perhaps he would not have sought a new world by pursuing an accidental ocean course, because this purpose was conceived after long residence in Portugal and at Puerto Santo. His whole idea, even when he decided upon a western course, and when he sailed from Palos in 1492, was to reach India by a direct sea way, which

*"Don Enrique tuvo una proporcion ada gran deza: miembros abultados y fuertes; blanco y rubio. cabello rezio y casi irsuto: produzia temor cou el aspecto: circunspeccion y constancia notable en las palabras; modestia en el trato de su persona dentro de los terminos de la alteza de su fortuna; sufrimiento en los trabajos; en las armas valor y osadia; en las artes y letras fu versada y diestro; en las matematicas superior a todos los que las manjaron en su edad; no se le conocio costumbre viciosa; no caso, ni sesupo el que violasse la pureza de la continencia." Barros—Prince Henry was largely proportioned, strong, and well limbed; red and white complexion; curly haired and bearded; his countenance inspired fear and respect. He was very circumspect and precise in his speech; modest in his bearing when at the height of his fortune; patient and enduring in labor; a brave and daring warrior; in arts and letters was most skillful; in mathematics superior to all others who essayed the science in his age; he had not one bad habit; he never married, and he was never suspected of having violated the perfect purity of a continent life.

†All Portuguese writers speak enthusiastically of the immaculate life of this most noble Prince.

Henry conceived and planned and tried to have carried out, as far back as 1416, when, like an inspired youthful apostle, he sent his first missionaries of discovery to sail along the coast of Africa in order to pass round its southern bounds unto Eastern Asia. And so had Columbus joined the Prince at Lagos—the ardent, enterprising, and persevering nature of this Italian adventurer—greater than that of Cadamosto, Noli, Perestrello, Gilianez, or other captains of Henry, would have been readily employed, and he would in accordance with the Prince's plans have pushed on the route to India by way of the African coast; and have anticipated de Gama in doubling the Cape of Good Hope; and if he ever discovered America it would have been most likely by voyages eastward of India, and so after first finding America by a Pacific route would most reasonably in following up his career of discovery have anticipated Magellan by the circumnavigation of the globe.

WHY COLUMBUS SAILED WEST.

It may be asked if the discoverer of America entertained only Prince Henry's idea of reaching India, and Marco Polo's Cathay and Cipangu by a direct sea route, why did he not continue to confine the accomplishment of his purpose and enterprise to the African line of coast? It must be borne in mind that when the Genoese adventurer arrived in Portugal the government and the private enterprise of this country, stimulated by her great Prince, had been actively engaged for about seventy years in the quest of the African-Indian ocean route. Lusitanian enterprise, preeminent over all the rest of Europe during the fifteenth century in the pursuit of ocean navigation as influenced by the genius of Henry, had confined its energies to the opening of its direct Indian highway. This enterprise was in the full tide of activity when Columbus arrived. He resided in the center of its influence at Puerto Santo, and took part in its action in voyages to the coast of Guinea with his brother-in-law Correa.* And when here, working his part on the circumcontinental Indian way, he hears the stories of the drifted bodies and carved woods from some western ocean land. The records of Henry are with him at his ocean outpost that reveal the purpose of a western discovery; and his quick perceptive and appreciative soul conceives that India may be only half the distance west that it is by the roundabout way east; and so determines to

carry out Henry's idea of a western voyage. But the whole energies of Portugal were now confined to her eastern course. Her forts and settlements were scattered along the western coast of Africa down to the land of the Hottentots. She was in full possession of this route, and confirmed in her title to it by the indisputable sanction of the Vicegerent at Rome; and as genius no longer influenced the action of the country, the spirit of conservatism would confine itself to the line of action already established. And the then ruler of Portugal, though a moderately able man, yet he was influenced by a too frequent jealous and conceited spirit peculiar to mediocre men in power, who do not wish to appear to be led by outside ideas, but to be esteemed sufficient for not only the government, but the enterprise of their country, rejected the plan and overtures of the Genoese adventurer as being calculated to disturb Portugal in her present pursuit of Indian dominion. And very likely Columbus would have acquiesced resignedly to the denial of his scheme, and have still sought employment for his energies in Portuguese African enterprise had not his Philippa died and broken up his Portuguese home. It was mainly this event more than his disappointments in appealing to those in power that induced him to abandon the precincts of the Court of Lisbon to seek the neighboring one of Madrid.* He felt that though Spain had derided the maritime enterprise of Portugal, yet her jealousy of her peninsular neighbor was more likely to prompt her more than any other country to engage in an opposition enterprise in an occidental ocean route which was open to her, and not in conflict with the potential bulls of the Vatican which covered the advancing line of the dominion of Portugal.

And thus Columbus was led to seek his western route to India.

COLUMBUS FOUND HIS SCHEME IN PORTUGAL.

It is far from the purpose of this writer to exalt one man by detracting from another; but rather he would have the glory of one esteemed great still enhanced, by showing his appreciation of the great purposes of another. Columbus unquestionably derived very largely the knowledge and the inspiration that directed his great achievement from the mind of the Portuguese Prince. He arrived in Portugal as stated in 1470, but supposed by some writers to have arrived there much earlier, in 1467. He had been an adventurous warrior and mariner in the Medi-

*Pedro Correa, the brother-in-law of Columbus, was governor of Puerto Santo, and had charge of a recruiting station for African squadrons. Columbus resided on a goat ranch—a district of wild land awarded to the widow of Perestrello—Oviedo—El Feire.

*Columbus lived in Portugal and Puerto Santo with his wife, Philippa, about fourteen years. He became a naturalized Portuguese, and if his wife had lived it is reasonable to suppose that he would not have left Portugal.

terranean of some merit before his arrival in Portugal; and there is no evidence that he came to this kingdom to propose any scheme of discovery, matured elsewhere, as that of pursuing a western voyage for the purpose of discovery. He came in accordance with the generous spirit of adventure, that induced so many of his countrymen to seek the new land of enterprise. He was then a man of ardent soul, and a chivalrous soldier of fortune, and though grey headed, he marries, as Irving says, for "mere affection;" but let us mark that this mere affection was no doubt the foundation of his glory. He and his young wife were poor, so poor that they could not keep a house of their own, and must live with her mother. But they made a happy home. The widow and daughter were happy with this brave man for a protector. He was the countryman of the deceased husband and father, and as he like him had spent the dearest action of his life in adventurous voyages and in cosmographic labors, how happy must the mother and daughter have been to find a protector in one who could appreciate, by his own vivid experience, the life and work of the departed husband and father, Perestrello.

Thus the home of Henry's trusted captain and cosmographer became the home of Columbus. The great adventurer entered into the innermost recesses of the College of Sagres, he inherited the records of its cosmographer, and the mantle of its great prophet fell upon him. And with all this he had love for a teacher. Love, in his generous uncalculating soul, made him woo the daughter of a poor widow, who had no title deeds of lands, but only charts of imaginary ocean lines to give him. But those were lines sufficient to satisfy a noble soul whose great hopes were never in the dross of the earth. Still love and schemes could not feed the poor young wife amid the artificial wants of Lisbon, and so the discoverer, with mighty purposes and no money, went to seek a living out of the goats and rabbits of the wild lone ocean island that belonged to the dead father. But in the valleys and glens of Puerto Santo, Christopher and Phillipa saw their happiest days. Here their Diego was born; here the veteran hero and his youthful bride gathered plants and shells, and looking out upon the ocean rolling in from the westward the thoughtful Phillipa spoke of the ardent ocean hopes of her father's illustrious patronizing Prince. She spoke continually of the achievements of him who unveiled Africa and disclosed the secrets of the great ocean. And shall we not suppose that the soul of her warrior and mariner fired as he listened to her discourse; and that as he listened he resolved

to fulfill the purposes of the great navigator? Yes, it must have been so, and as Christopher and Phillipa sat fondly together in their modest island abode, or walked hand in hand through its woods and by its shores, talking of the work of a dear father and of his illustrious patron—then the purposes of a great man dawned upon another great one—and the germinating seeds of Henry's mind brought forth ample fruit in the fecundating soul and heroic action of Columbus.

Now may it not be said in conclusion that when the great American Republic celebrates her Centennial, and at the time contemplates the prophetic voices that called forth her continent from the vast unknown of the past, that she will have reason to give a foremost place in her Temple of Fame to the illustrious Prince, who closed the era of the dark ages, who was the harbinger of the first dawn of all modern enlightened progress, and who hoped for and led the way to a new world?

"Then from ancient gloom emerg'd
The rising world of trade, the genius then
Of navigation, that in hopeless sloth
Had slumber'd on the vast Atlantic deep
For idle ages, starting, heard at last
The Lusitanian Prince, who heaven inspir'd
To love of useful glory rous'd mankind,
And in unbounded commerce mix'd the world."*

*Thomson—Draper, in his "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," says, page 441, that "maritime enterprise was the harbinger of the age of reason in Europe," and introduces as the sole origin of this enterprise the three voyages in which were accomplished the "discovery of America," the "doubling of the cape," and the "circumnavigation of the globe"—without one word of reference to the sole founder of all this enterprise, and the Apostle of the age of reason in Europe. Draper's work throughout indicates a very shallow study of his great subject. His statements concerning Columbus, De Gama, and Magellan are simply extracted from Irving and other modern writers, and bear no evidence of any original research.

THE movement of Western grain to Montreal, Canada, is steadily increasing. In 1863 the quantity of Western grain received at Montreal was 6,151,521 bushels. In 1872 the total quantity received at that city was 15,213,029. In 1863, 65,320,158 bushels were received at New York; in 1872 the quantity was 86,032,450 bushels. From this statement it will be seen that the transportation of grain to Montreal has increased in greater ratio than the transportation to New York.

THE commerce of Montreal is suspended by ice about five months in the year. The harbor of New York is never closed. With this natural disadvantage against her Montreal can never become a successful commercial rival to the growing seaports of the United States.

SENATOR LOGAN ON THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

The following are the closing remarks of Senator Logan in his speech before the United States Senate, on the 13th and 14th of January, on the condition of the Southern States:

Now, Mr. President, I want to ask candid, honest, fair-minded men, after reading this report of General Sheridan, showing the murder, not for gain, not for plunder, but for political opinions, in the last few years, of thirty-five hundred persons in the State of Louisiana—all of them Republicans—not one of them a Democrat—I want to ask if they can stand here before this country and defend the Democratic party of Louisiana? I put this question to them, for they have been here for days crying against the wrongs upon the Democracy of Louisiana. I want any one of them to tell me if he is prepared to defend the Democracy of Louisiana. What is your Democracy of Louisiana? You are excited, your extreme wrath is aroused at General Sheridan because he called your White Leagues down there "banditti." I ask you if the murder of thirty-five hundred men in a short time for political purposes, by a band of men banded together for the purpose of murder, does not make them banditti, what it does make them? Does it make them Democrats? It certainly does not make them Republicans. Does it make them honest men? It certainly does not. Does it make them law-abiding men? It certainly does not. Does it make them peaceable citizens? It certainly does not. But what does it make? A band of men banded together and perpetrating murder in their own State? Webster says a bandit is "a lawless or desperate fellow; a robber; a brigand," and "banditti" are men banded together for plunder and murder; and what are your White Leagues banded together for if the result proves that they are banded together for murder for political purposes?

O, what a crime it was in Sheridan to say that these men were banditti! He is a wretch. From the papers he ought to be hanged to a lamp post; from the Senators he is not fit to breathe the free air of heaven or of this free Republic; but your murderers of thirty-five hundred people for political offenses are fit to breathe the air of this country, and are defended on this floor to-day, and they are defended here by the Democratic party, and you cannot avoid or escape the proposition. You have denounced Republicans for trying to keep the peace in Louisiana; you have denounced the Administration for trying to suppress bloodshed in

Louisiana; you have denounced all for the same purpose; but not one word has fallen from the lips of a solitary Democratic Senator denouncing these wholesale murders in Louisiana. You have said "I am sorry these things are done," but you have defended the White Leagues; you have defended Penn; you have defended rebellion; and you stand here to-day the apologists of murder, of rebellion, and of treason in that State.

I want to ask the judgment of an honest country, I want to ask the judgment of the moral sentiments of the law-abiding people of this grand and glorious Republic to tell me whether men shall murder by the score, whether men shall trample the law under foot, whether men shall force judges to resign, whether men shall force prosecuting attorneys to resign, whether men shall take five officers of a State out and hang or shoot them if they attempt to exercise the functions of their office, whether men shall terrify the voters and office-holders of a State, whether men shall undertake, in violation of law, to organize a Legislature for revolutionary purposes, for the purpose of putting a Governor in possession and taking possession of the State, and then ask the Democracy to stand by them—I appeal to the honest judgment of the people of this land and ask them to respond whether this was not an excusable case when this man used the army to protect the life of that State and to preserve the peace of that people? Sir, the man who will not use all the means in his power to preserve the nationality, the integrity of this Government, the integrity of a State, or the peace and happiness of a people, is not fit to govern; he is not fit to hold position in this or any other civilized age.

Does liberty mean wholesale slaughter? Does republican government mean tyranny and oppression of its citizens? Does an intelligent and enlightened age of civilization mean murder and pillage, bloodshed at the hands of Kuklux or White Leagues, or any body else; and if any one attempts to put it down, attempts to reorganize and produce order where chaos and confusion have reigned, they are to be denounced as tyrants, as oppressors, and as acting against republican institutions? I say, then, the happy days of this Republic are gone. When we fail to see that republicanism means nothing, that liberty means nothing but the unrestrained license of the mobs to do as they please, then republican government is a failure. Liberty of the citizen means the right to exercise such rights as are prescribed within the limits of the law so that he does

not in the exercise of these rights infringe the rights of other citizens. But the definition is not well made by our friends on the opposite side of this chamber. Their idea of liberty is license; it is not liberty, but it is license. License to do what? License to violate law, to trample constitutions under foot, to take life, to take property, to use the bludgeon and the gun, or anything else, for the purpose of giving themselves power. What statesman ever heard of that as a definition of liberty? What man, in a civilized age, has ever heard of liberty being the unrestrained license of the people to do as they please, without any restraint of law or of authority? No man; no, not one, until we found the Democratic party, would advocate this proposition and indorse and encourage this kind of license in a free country.

Mr. President, I have, perhaps, said more on this question of Louisiana than might have been well for me to say on account of my strength, but what I have said about it I have said because I honestly believed it. What I have said in reference to it comes from an honest conviction in my mind and in my heart of what has been done to suppress violence and wrong. But I have a few remarks, in conclusion, to submit now to my friends on the other side, in answer to what they have said, not by way of argument, but by way of accusation. You say to us—I had it repeated to me this morning in private conversation—"Withdraw your troops from Louisiana and you will have peace." Ah, I heard it said on this floor once "Withdraw your troops from Louisiana and your State government will not last a minute." I heard that said from the opposite side of the chamber, and now you say "Withdraw your troops from Louisiana and you will have peace."

Mr. President, I dislike to refer to things that are past and gone; I dislike to have my mind called back to things of the past; but I well remember the voice in this chamber once that rang out and was heard throughout this land, "Withdraw your troops from Fort Sumter if you want peace." I heard that said. Now it is "Withdraw your troops from Louisiana if you want peace." Yes, I say withdraw your troops from Louisiana if you want a revolution, and that is what is meant. But, sir, we are told—and doubtless it is believed by the Senators who tell us so, who denounce the Republican party—that it is tyrannical, oppressive, and outrageous. They have argued themselves into the idea that they are patriots, pure and undefiled. They have argued themselves into the idea that the Democratic party never did any wrong. They have been out of power so long that they have convinced themselves that if they only had control of this country

for a short time what a glorious country they would make it. They had control for nearly forty long years; and while they were the agents of this country—I appeal to history to bear me out—they made the Government a bankrupt, with rebellion and treason in the land, and were then sympathizing with it wherever it existed. That is the condition in which they left the country when they had it in their possession and within their control. But they say the Republican party is a tyrant; that it is oppressive. As I have said, I wish to make a few suggestions to my friends in answer to this accusation. Oppressive to whom? They say to the South that the Republican party has tyrannized over the South. Let me ask you how it has tyrannized over the South? Without speaking of our troubles and trials through which we passed I will say this: at the end of a rebellion that scourged this land, that drenched it with blood, that devastated a portion of it, left us in debt and almost bankrupt, what did the Republican party do? Instead of leaving these, our friends and citizens to-day, in a territorial condition, where we might exercise jurisdiction over them for the next coming twenty years, where we might have deprived them of the rights of members on this floor, what did we do? We reorganized them into States, admitted them back into the Union, and through the clemency of the Republican party we admitted Representatives on this floor who had thundered against the gates of liberty for four bloody years. Is that the tyranny and oppression of which you complain at the hands of the Republican party? Is that a part of our oppression against you Southern people?

Let us go a little further. When the armed Democracy—for that is what they were—laid down their arms in the Southern States, after disputing the right of freedom and liberty in this land for four years, how did the Republican party show itself in its acts of tyranny and oppression toward you? You appealed to them for clemency. Did you get it? Not a man was punished for his treason. Not a man ever knocked at the doors of a Republican Congress for a pardon who did not get it. Not a man ever petitioned the generosity of the Republican party to be excused for his crimes who was not excused. Was that oppression upon the part of Republicans in this land? Is that a part of the oppression of which you accuse us?

Let us look a little further. We find to-day twenty-seven Democratic Representatives in the other branch of Congress who took arms in their hands and tried to destroy this Government holding commissions there by the clemency of the Republican party. We find in this chamber, by the clemency of the Republican party, three Senators who

held such commissions. Is that tyranny; is that oppression; is that the outrage of this Republican party on you Southern people? Sir, when Jeff Davis, the head of the great rebellion, who roams the land free as air—North, South, East, and West—makes Democratic speeches wherever invited, and the vice president of the Southern rebellion holds his seat in the other House of Congress, are we to be told that we are tyrants and oppressing the Southern people? These things may sound a little harsh, but it is time to tell the truth in this country. The time has come to talk facts. The time has come when cowards should hide and honest men should come to the front and tell you plain, honest truths. You of the South talk to us about oppressing you. You drenched your land in blood, caused weeping throughout this vast domain, covered the land in weeds of mourning both North and South, widowed thousands and orphaned many, made the pension-roll as long as an army-list, made the debt that grinds the poor of this land—for all these things you have been pardoned, and yet you talk to us about oppression. So much for the oppression of the Republican party of your patriotic souls and selves. Next comes the President of the United States. He is a tyrant, too. He is an oppressor still, in conjunction with the Republican party. Oppressor of what? Who has he oppressed of your Southern people, and when and where? When your Kuklux, banded together for murder and plunder in the Southern States, were convicted by their own confession, your own Representatives pleaded to the President, and said "Give them pardon and it will reconcile many of the Southern people." The President pardoned them; pardoned them of their murder, of their plunder, of their piracy on land; and for this I suppose he is a tyrant.

More than that, sir, this tyrant in the White House has done more for you Southern people than you ought to have asked him to do. He has had confidence in you until you betrayed that confidence. He has not only pardoned the offenses of the South, pardoned the criminals of the Democratic party, but he has placed in high official position in this Union some of the leading men who fought in the rebellion. He has put in his Cabinet one of your men; he has made governors of Territories of some of your leading men who fought in the rebellion; he has sent on foreign missions abroad some of your men who warred against this country; he has placed others in the Departments; and has tried to reconcile you in every way on earth, by appealing to your people, by recognizing them and forgiving them for their offenses, and for these acts of generosity, for these acts of kindness, he is ar-

rained to-day as a Caesar, as a tyrant, as an oppressor.

Such kindness in return as the President has received from these people will mark itself in the history of generosity. O, but say they, Grant wants to oppress the White Leagues in Louisiana; therefore he is an oppressor. Yes, Mr. President, Grant does desire that these men should quit their every-day chivalric sports of gunning upon negroes and Republicans. He asks kindly that you stop it. He says to you, "That is all I want you to do;" and you say that you are desirous that they shall quit it. You have but to say it and they will quit it. It is because you have never said it that they have not quit it. It is in the power of the Democratic party to-day but to speak in tones of majesty, of honor, and justice in favor of human life, and your Kuklux and murderers will stop. But you do not do it; and that is the reason they do not stop. In States where it has been done they have stopped. But it will not do to oppress those people; it will not do to make them submit and subject them to the law; it will not do to stop these gentlemen in their daily sports and in their lively recreations. They are White Leagues; they are banded together as gentlemen; they are of Southern blood; they are of old Southern stock; they are the chivalry of days gone by; they are knights of the bloody shield; and the shield must not be taken from them. Sirs, their shield will be taken from them; this country will be aroused to its danger; this country will be aroused to do justice to its citizens; and when it does, the perpetrators of crime may fear and tremble. Tyranny and oppression! A people who without one word of opposition allows men who have been the enemies of a government to come into these legislative halls and make laws for that government to be told that they are oppressors is a monstrosity in declamation and assertion. Who ever heard of such a thing before? Who ever believed that such men could make such charges? Yet we are tyrants!

[Mr. Logan here gave way to allow a message to be received from the House of Representatives, which announced the passage of a bill removing the political disabilities of John Withers, Joseph F. Minter, and William Kearny.]

MR. LOGAN. Mr. President, the reading of the title of that bill from the House only reminds me of more acts of tyranny and oppression of the Republican party, and there is continuation of the same great offenses constantly going on in this Chamber. But some may say, "It is strange to see Logan defending the President of the United States." It is not strange to me. I can disagree with the President when I think he is wrong; and

I do not blame him for disagreeing with me; but when these attacks are made, coming from where they do, I am ready to stand from the rising sun in the morning to the setting sun at evening to defend every act of his in connection with this matter before us.

I may have disagreed with President Grant in many things; but I was calling attention to the men who have been accusing him here, on this floor, on the stump, and in the other House; the kind of men who do it, the manner of its doing, the sharpness of the shafts that are sent at him, the poisonous barbs that they bear with them, and from these men who, at his hands, have received more clemency than any men ever received at the hands of any President or any man who governed a country. Why, sir, I will appeal to the soldiers of the rebel army to testify in behalf of what I say in defense of President Grant—the honorable men who fought against the country, if there was honor in doing it. What will be their testimony? It will be that he captured your armed Democracy of the South, he treated them kindly, turned them loose, with their horses, with their wagons, with their provisions; treated them as men, and not as pirates. Grant built no prison-pens for the Southern soldiers; Grant provided no starvation for Southern men; Grant provided no "dead-lines" upon which to shoot Southern soldiers if they crossed them; Grant provided no outrageous punishment against these people that now call him a tyrant. Generous to a fault in all his actions toward the men who were fighting his country and destroying the Constitution, that man to-day is denounced as a very Cæsar!

Sherman has not been denounced, but the only reason is that he was not one of the actors in this transaction; but I want now to say to my friends on the other side, especially to my friend from Delaware, who repeated his bitter denunciation against Sheridan yesterday—and I say this in all kindness, because I am speaking what future history will bear me out in—when Sheridan and Grant and Sherman and others like them are forgotten in this country, you will have no country. When the Democratic party is rotten for centuries in its grave, the life, the course, the conduct of these men will live as bright as the noonday sun in the heart of every patriot of a republic like the American Union. Sirs, you may talk about tyranny, you may talk about oppression, you may denounce these men; their glory may fade into the darkness of night; but that darkness will be a brilliant light compared with the darkness of the Democratic party. Their pathway is illuminated by glory; yours by dark deeds against the Government. That is a difference which the country will bear witness to in future history when speaking of this country and the actors on its stage.

Now, Mr. President, I have a word to say about our duty. A great many people are asking, what shall we do? Plain and simple in my judgment is the proposition. I say to Republicans do not be scared. No man is ever hurt by doing an honest act and performing a patriotic duty. If we are to have a war of words outside or inside, let us have them in truth and soberness, but in earnest. What then is our duty? I did not believe that in 1872 there were official data upon which we could decide who was elected governor in Louisiana. But this is not the point of my argument. It is that the President has recognized Kellogg as governor of that State, and he has acted for two years. The Legislature of the State has recognized him; the Supreme Court of the State has recognized him; one branch of Congress has recognized him. The duty is plain, and that is for this, the other branch of Congress, to do it, and that settles the question. Then, when it does it, your duty is plain and simple, and, as the President has told you, he will perform his without fear, favor, or affection. Recognize the government that revolution has been against and intended to overthrow, and leave the President to his duty, and he will do it. That is what to do.

Sir, we have been told that this old craft is rapidly going to pieces; that the angry waves of dissension in the land are lashing against her sides. We are told that she is sinking, sinking, sinking to the bottom of the political ocean. Is that true? Is it true that this gallant old party, that this gallant old ship that has sailed through troubled seas before is going to be stranded now upon the rock of fury that has been set up by a clamor in this chamber and a few newspapers in the country? Is it true that the party that saved this country in all its great crises, in all its great trials, is sinking to-day on account of its fear and trembling before an inferior enemy? I hope not. I remember, sir, once I was told that the old Republican ship was gone; but when I steadied myself on the shores bounding the political ocean of strife and commotion, I looked afar off and there I could see a vessel bounding the boisterous billows with white sail unfurled, marked on her sides, "Freighted with the hopes of mankind," while the great Mariner above, as her helmsman, steered her, navigated her to a haven of rest, of peace, and of safety. You have but to look again upon that broad ocean of political commotion to-day, and the time will soon come when the same old craft, provided with the same cargo, will be seen, flying the same flag, passing through these tempestuous waves, anchoring herself at the shores of honesty and justice, and there she will lie, undisturbed by strife and tumult, again in peace and safety. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

LOUISIANA: KANSAS—THE DIFFERENCE.

Senator Logan, in his admirable speech on Louisiana affairs on the 13th and 14th of January, gave a number of pertinent instances where the Democrats, when in the majority and controlling the Government, authorized and sustained the interference of the United States army in State affairs. Among others the case of Kansas was cited, when, in 1856, the South, supported by their Democratic allies in the North, attempted to force slavery into that new State against the will and opposition of the inhabitants. President Pierce issued a proclamation ordering disorderly persons to disperse, and declaring that "lawless violence on the one side would be met by conservative force on the other, wielded by legal authority of the General Government." Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, issued an order to the troops in Kansas, putting them under command of the Governor of that Territory, to be summoned at his call for such purposes as he might require. What was the result? Governor Shannon had left the Territory, and Secretary Woodson was acting Governor. The latter went to Topeka, and there issued a proclamation forbidding all persons claiming legislative powers under the Topeka constitution from organizing. Col. Sumner, afterwards General Sumner, was put under orders from Washington, and on the 4th of July, 1856, while the members of the Legislature were in their respective halls waiting for the hour of noon to be called to order, according to a previous adjournment, Col. Sumner and his troops appeared. At his right was the military band, and close behind about two hundred dragoons in three squadrons. The military battle-flag was afloat. The soldiers were drawn up around the hall and along the street facing it, and one hundred yards off were two cannon posted so as to command the street, and gunners were stationed by them ready for the word to fire. An army surgeon was also conspicuous, with his case of instruments! This disposition having been made, three other companies of dragoons approached the town from an opposite direction from which those stationed had come. Just before 12 o'clock Col.

Sumner entered the hall and went up to the platform. The first clerk, Mr. Tappan, proceeded to call the roll, when Col. Sumner said:

"Gentlemen, I am here to perform the most painful duty of my whole life. Under the authority of the President's proclamation, I am here to disperse this Legislature, and therefore inform you that you can not meet. I therefore order you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will hold none so long as I occupy my present position in Kansas."

Judge Schuyler, a member, asked, "Are we to understand that the Legislature are driven out at the point of the bayonet?" "I shall use all the force in my command to carry out my orders!" was the reply. The Representatives then dispersed, and the officer proceeded to the Senate chamber and ordered the clearance of that body. "My orders are that you must not be permitted to meet, and I cannot allow you to do any business," said Colonel Sumner. The presence of the troops was enough. Mr. Pillsbury said, "Colonel Sumner, we are in no condition to resist the United States troops, and if you order us to disperse, we must disperse." Colonel Allen suggested that this be taken as the expression of all members, and this was assented to. Colonel Sumner then left the hall, and the dragoons were filed away.

Senator Logan, while presenting the historical record of facts, failed to discriminate between the motives in the case of Kansas and that of Louisiana. The difference between the action of Republicans in the Louisiana question and Democrats in the Kansas affair is, that in Louisiana the army interfered in defense of the oppressed and overawed, while in Kansas it was prostituted to aid the schemes of oppressors who were determined to force slavery into the State at the point of the bayonet.

Yet we have never heard of a Democrat who disapproved the proclamation of Frank Pierce or the order of Jefferson Davis, while the whole Democratic chorus is raised against Grant and Sheridan and Kellogg, because the army was present in Louisiana and in the hall of the Legislature to preserve order and prevent rioting and murder, which would certainly have occurred in the absence of that element of power.

PRESIDENT GRANT AND HIS ASSAILANTS.*

Ten years ago the armies of the people were closing around Richmond, and, amidst a general clamor of rage and despair from all the adherents of slavery and rebellion, the patience and the courage of Grant and Sheridan were steadily sapping the last defenses of treason. No pretext had been left untried, no threats nor open defiance spared, to draw them off from their approaching victory. The opposition press teemed with calumny and detraction, and opposition leaders encouraged resistance at Richmond, and labored to stir up riot and disorder in the North. There were great meetings held to denounce General Grant, to cut off the supplies of the army, to menace the administration, and to shake the credit of the nation. The most noted Republican journal of New York, under some occult influence, began to speak of compromise even to the perpetuation of slavery. There was doubt and even despair in many timid but still patriotic minds. Many noted opposition leaders now in office plainly desired the success of Davis, and the revival of that barbarous and, cruel aristocracy which had driven the Southern States into a ruinous rebellion. A secret association had been formed, with agents in most of the Northern cities, pledged to excite a counter-revolution, and resolute to bring fire and the sword into the heart of New York or Cincinnati. There were threats of assassination, and men prepared for any desperate extremity. And the most bitter and dangerous foes of Lincoln and Grant were no longer the perishing and disheartened Confederates within the lines of Richmond, but their active adherents without, who labored to divert the nation from the support of its armies in the field. Yet one sure reliance General Grant found never to fail him amidst the clamor and the calumnies of a thousand assailants: the people felt that he was their truest friend. They had watched his conduct with approbation; they gave their treasures and their lives lavishly to his support. Richmond fell amidst the acclamations of the workingmen of Europe

and America, the Republic was saved, and the progress of the New World assured.

Never was a victory more generously used, or a fallen rebellion more tenderly treated. To the generous but misguided Lee and his soldiers the victors strove to seem only brothers in arms. No punishment awaited the most active and guilty insurgent; no painful retribution such as European governments are accustomed to impose in similar events. The nation turned at once to heal the woes of civil war by an unbounded charity, to feed the starving South from its own diminished resources, to build up its cities, to revive its trade, renew its productiveness, and to forget that a momentary strife had divided those who were still the members of a common family of freemen. Nor has this liberal and natural policy ever been departed from through the brief period that has fled so rapidly by since Richmond fell and Grant restored the vigor of the Republic. There has been a constant effort on the part of the General Government to win the rebellious district to a better spirit by forbearance and almost excessive moderation. It has looked on patiently while a violent and mischievous minority in almost every Southern State has violated all the duties of good citizenship, and driven away knowledge, progress, and reform; it has been forced to see without redress the rights and lives of its supporters placed in peril from the Ohio to the Gulf; it has watched silently while "banditti"—for no name can be more appropriate to such deeds and such men—and troops of assassins for nearly ten years have covered Kentucky and Tennessee with deeds of violence, established a pure tyranny in Georgia, and filled Louisiana with a succession of horrors. In the latter State only has the Government interfered, because there the rebels chose to raise the question of the right of the nation to interfere, and have made the case of Louisiana a test case for all the Southern States. For the points involved in this matter are exactly those that were supposed to have been decided at Richmond. Portions of the State, as General Sheridan plainly shows,

* By "EUGENE LAWRENCE," in *Harper's Weekly*, January 30.

have fallen into the hands of real "banditti." The ruffians of Shreveport seek to control the Government. The Shreveport *Times* inspires their movements, and if the national arm was withdrawn, Louisiana would be an independent community ruled by the murderers of Coushatta or Grant Parish. In other words, the question raised in Louisiana is whether a band of rioters may seize upon a State government by violence and intimidation, and defy the United States officers when they insist upon obedience to the law.

"Perfidy and cruelty," says a great historian, "are the distinguishing traits of a barbarous race." Of the cruelty of the dangerous classes at the South the last ten years have given fearful proofs; of their perfidy it should be the first aim of sensible men to beware. They profess to obey the National Government, but who can trust the professions of those to whom murder is a common pastime and obedience to the law unknown? It is the extravagant error of some of our Northern cotemporaries to look upon the less civilized Southern States as communities resembling our own, and capable of being governed with equal mildness. Those who have examined the real condition of Louisiana or Georgia know that it resembles rather society as it may have existed five hundred years ago in England, or as it lives to-day in portions of Italy and Spain. That sacredness of human life which has ever been the chief mark of advancing civilization is nowhere to be found in lands where slavery has corrupted the people, and it will be many years before education and the force of public opinion shall have wholly eradicated from the South its dangerous class. A reluctant witness, one of the correspondents of the *New York Times*, writing from Columbus, Georgia, confirms at last what has often been stated in these articles of the painful condition of Southern society, and says: "In Georgia and Alabama, at least in that section bordering on the Chattahoochee river, it is not usual to keep a white murderer in jail." He adds that within the past eighteen months fourteen white men have been murdered in the neighborhood of Columbus alone. The murderers were at once released on bail, were received as usual in society, and all escaped

punishment through the influence of family connections or the venality of the courts. But if the murder of white men is looked upon as so venial an offense in these lawless districts, it is easy to conceive that the tortures and death of a multitude of harmless negroes would scarcely be noticed by the superior race. It is plain that the massacre of Coushatta would be to the people of Shreveport only a morning's sport.

Connected with the savage cruelty of this ruling class at the South is their shameless and audacious cunning. They deny everything, spread false rumors, talk of oppression, claim the sympathy of the Northern Democracy, fill the newspapers with calumnies against Republican Governors, and assail the President and the administration with a ferocious bitterness that indicates both their hatred and their fear. Yet the murderers of Coushatta and Grant Parish, of Teche Parish and New Orleans, must hear almost with a grim smile that their rude cunning and daring falsehoods have found any credence in the more civilized part of the country; that their violent attempt to seize on the government of Louisiana has been countenanced by any honest or humane men; that a great meeting has been held in the city of New York to sustain them in their new rebellion; and that respectable citizens have been so far deluded by their pretenses as to look upon them as the victims of Republican oppression, and join in a fierce denunciation of the tyranny of Grant and Sheridan. With what peals of ribald laughter must they learn that their rude inventions are repeated by respectable journals; that the Northern Democracy is willing to assume the responsibility of their crimes, and shield them from a swift justice; that a venerable poet is prepared to chant their praises as the martyrs of freedom; that astute lawyers uphold their usurpations, and Irish judges defend the cause of rampant murder; that even some reputable Germans have been deceived by their hypocritical complaints; and that all the followers of Tweed and Sweeny have once more crept out into the public eye from their hiding-places, no longer conscious of the general detestation, to join in the assault upon the nation's defenders.

The patience and kindness which President Grant and his administration have shown in all their conduct toward the rebellious South through their whole term of office; their careful abstinence from all military interference in the revolted States, except where actual murder and riot forced them to intervene; their generosity to unhappy Louisiana in its recent disasters, when a large part of its people were fed by the public charity; their willingness to confer offices and emoluments on every loyal native of the South; their firmness and discretion, will, we think, be remembered by the nation, if not by enraged and rival politicians; and it is certain that the judgment of future ages will decide that no policy could have been devised more likely to heal the wounds of the suffering section than those plans of education and internal improvement which Republican legislators have impressed deeply upon the Southern States. In response to this lenient treatment, what return have the Republican party and President Grant received? Future ages will hear with shame and sorrow the reply. His life is openly threatened by the assassins of the South whom he has striven to tame and subdue. A journal in New York plainly demands his assassination. He is called tyrant or dictator, and assailed with all the ribald terms the White League of the South or their Northern allies can devise. He on whose life once rested the fate of freedom before Richmond, whose arm saved the nation in the midst of a thousand foes, who is the defender of the rights of the workingmen of every land, is now assailed once more by the terrible minions of slavery at home and abroad, and by their deluded followers at the North and the South. At the recent meeting in New York, when Grant's name was mentioned, there was a cry, "Hang him!" "Hang him!" And grave men sat looking on, and made no remonstrance! And for what? Why do they seek his life? Because he has labored earnestly to protect the weak and the suffering in Louisiana, and is firmly resolved that the murderers of Coushatta and Colfax shall neither escape a just punishment nor bring utter ruin to their perishing State. If this is an error, it is so venial a one that it will

probably be shared by the great majority of his countrymen. The people can not be deceived, and should the ruffians of Coushatta or any of their Northern allies proceed to execute their threats, a living wall of faithful hearts and manly breasts will gather around their country's chief defender, reaching from Maine to Oregon, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, that not all the rage of the White League nor the fiercest shafts of rival politicians can pierce.

It is instructive to review the histories of many of the men who gathered at the recent meeting in New York to assail the fame and threaten the ruin of the conqueror of Richmond. Many of them were the same violent partisans who ten years ago were laboring to starve the national armies in the field and snatch the Confederacy from the grasp of Grant and Sheridan. There were noted reactionary politicians to whom slavery was once dear, and who had now come together to avenge its fall; there were the chiefs of the ultramontane faction in New York; there were noted rebels who were once fighting against the armies of the Republic; there was the secretary of Jefferson Davis, now pensioned by its Mayor upon the diminished revenues of our city; there, possibly, was Quincy, the former keeper of the Libby prison, who is also maintained at the cost of New York; there was an array of much that must have shocked every patriotic heart; there Kernan declared that he was present in spirit—an assurance scarcely needed; and there in spirit were present every Kuklux and ruffian of the South. There, listening to the subtle denunciation of the President by a practiced advocate, whose argument would have been more effective had it been founded upon facts, sat a thick array of the Crokers and Kellys of Tammany Hall. There were many honest and just men, misled, no doubt, by the daring fictions of the Southern Leaguers. But one thing was wanting: the heart of the people was not there. It still beats full of grateful confidence for him whom the country owns as its truest friend since Washington, and in whose honesty and sincerity, foresight and prudence, it trusts as firmly now as it did when, ten years ago, it shielded him from the hatred of a thousand foes until Richmond fell.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

A warm friend of the United States and an earnest advocate, by pen and speech, of the material progress and general prosperity of the people on both sides of the St. Lawrence, has addressed a letter from Canada for publication in *THE REPUBLIC*, on the commercial relations of the continent. The letter will repay a careful perusal. The writer takes the ground that *THE REPUBLIC* opposes reciprocity in order to force the Dominion into the Union. This is not the fact, and the conclusion is not warranted by anything that has ever appeared in *THE REPUBLIC* on the subjects of a reciprocity treaty and a political union of the Dominion of Canada and the United States. We have stated distinctly, over and over, that we should much prefer a political Union to reciprocity; but the language of the article to which our "Canadian Unionist" refers states that no union can occur until the voice of the majority on each side of the Atlantic is in favor of the measure. The charge of "forcing," or, as some writers in the colonies have it, of starving the people of the Dominion into the American Union is without the slightest foundation in fact, and is unjust to the people of the United States. The charge originated in the Dominion, and was first made public by Haliburton, of Nova Scotia, in his letters to the newspaper press on reciprocity, about the same time that Brega, from Canada, took up his residence in Washington with the view of engineering a reciprocity treaty through Congress. The very idea of forcing or starving an independent people, living upon a soil much of which is as productive as our own, is simply ridiculous.

We should rejoice to see the two peoples—or rather the one people now unnaturally separated—again united under one government and system of laws, with one policy and one common interest in the advancement of civilization over the entire North American continent; but if our good neighbors think proper to oppose this grand consummation, we are not going to force or

starve them into the arrangement, but rather let them take their time to comprehend and accept Providential destinies in relation to the future of the people of the New Western continent.

On the other hand a free-trade reciprocity is, at the present time, not in accordance with the interests of the United States. When the former treaty was ratified there was no public debt. Now there is a very heavy one, which it is the desire of the people not to entail on future generations. The Treasury requires all the revenues from importations, while a free trade treaty with Canada would reduce the receipts eight or ten million dollars annually. This would be adverse to the national interests. Governments, like men, are necessarily selfish. There is no civilized people on the face of the globe but whose government, if it is a good one, cares more for home than foreign interests, and provides first, in all cases, for the welfare of its own subjects. That is the policy of the United States; and from that standpoint a reciprocity treaty is not desirable until the public debt is materially reduced.

So, as Canada does not desire a union and the United States is opposed to a free trade treaty at present, each government is independent to choose its own policy, while the people of the two portions of the continent may dwell on friendly terms, each pleased to note the prosperity of the other.

The following is the letter of our Dominion correspondent:

RECIPROCITY IN ITS TRUE ASPECT.—*By a Canadian Unionist.*—Some time ago there appeared in the "*REPUBLIC*" an article about reciprocity between the United States and Canada, the political purport of which can be summed up as follows:

Does not every fact and reasoning prove the excellence of political union between Canada and the United States?

Yes! answers the writer.

The question then naturally comes up: Why should not the people be in favor of

reciprocity, the nearest thing to political union which both countries are better prepared to accept?

Surely if political union is worth having, its principal advantages are worth securing even without actual political union.

Why do you desire such political union?

(1) Because it would suppress an expensive and bothersome system of custom-houses along an uncontrollable and prolonged dividing boundary; (2) because it would bring free of charge to your market certain Canadian products, which, as consumers or manufacturers, you have an interest in importing thereof; (3) because it opens our own market to your products as they may be wanted in this country; (4) because experience has proved through the working of reciprocity, from 1855 to 1866, of what immense advantage reciprocity is in developing the resources of each country and their mutual trade.

Now, mind the reasoning of facts, the logic of inductions and conclusions.

All the advantages accruing from political union also accrue from commercial reciprocity! Therefore, if political union is desirable, certainly commercial reciprocity is equally desirable.

There can not be but the following objections on the part of the United States to commercial reciprocity in place of political union:

I. We, the United States, can not discriminate between Canada and such countries as Mexico, Cuba, &c., who will request from us the very same reciprocity we are asked to concede to Canada.

II. Why should you have all the advantages of our market, without taking your share of our national responsibilities and the expenses of our civil administration?

Those two objections are easily answered:

1. The United States have no particular interest to deny reciprocity to the nations or colonies referred to in the article of THE REPUBLIC, and, as a matter of fact, the United States would be ready at any moment to treat with them liberally for the increase and expansion of their commercial intercourse with them. Consequently there can

not be in that respect any inconvenience in making with us a treaty which might be the very model of the treaties which the United States have such an interest in making with other neighboring countries as well as with us.

2. As to the second objection, it means simply that we should be forced into the American Union on account of our commercial interest in having the American market freely opened to us.

I will not stop to ask if such policy would be just and dignified. Nor will I inquire if it would be doing proper justice to the American people themselves, since the tables of trade from 1855 to 1866 show that their interests were so well served through reciprocity. I will simply ask, *Is such coercion the practical way of uniting the whole of North America under one government?* Union or nothing, say you. Reciprocity and—Union, I say. If union has to come, if union is our destiny, then it must logically come through the increase and expansion of trade and general intercourse between the two nations. If reciprocity does not bring union in course of time it will be because such union is not destined to be our political climax.

How can you, as a partisan of such union, on the broad basis of that liberalism which extends to every man and every nation the full right of disposing of their destinies without the interference of anything but the free and gradual development of their interests and political preferences; indeed, how can you, as a partisan of the political unity of North America, on account of the community of interests and resemblance of feeling between the great majority of its inhabitants—how, in the name of common sense, how can you deliberately endanger the expected effect by suppressing the *actual cause*?

Your position, therefore, is not only illogical, but, moreover, it is not practical. It is all very well to pronounce *ex cathedra* that the question is between union and reciprocity. But, as a matter of fact, you know very well that it is much easier to make up one's mind about a commercial measure than about a national and political revolution. If the mind of a people can be prepared for

union, it is through such means as reciprocal trade. If a spirit of enmity or conquest can be stirred, it is through international estrangement, refusal of mutual interchange of products, and the suppression of every opportunity to get into closer acquaintance. You want union, and yet, in effect, you say, "We care for you only as to bear a part of our burden." We say: We want reciprocity on its own merits, as it has proven itself already to be a great boon to both countries. Let good enough take care of itself. If union has to come, let it come through the ways of trade and general intercourse. You do not mean it, but still you do the reverse of "union" when you practically say, "Come to me blindly or do not come at all!"

We may be destined to be united under one form of government, or we may not. Time will tell. While we wait let us do

our duty to the present generation here and in the States. They have a right to that legislation which is evidently the more conducive to their welfare and happiness. They should have it. They should not be deprived of it for political considerations belonging to a gone-by age. Now-a-days conquests through physical or moral constraint of any kind should be frowned down as uncivilized and detestable. But the great means of moral suasion, commercial intercourse, mutual forbearance and reciprocal exchange of feelings, as well as of staples, products, &c., should be resorted to for the legitimate aggrandizement of a nation or the political unity of half a continent. Let us do this, and, following the course which Providence points out, we will better subserve the final term of our political destinies.

IS THE COUNTRY PREPARED FOR DEMOCRATIC RULE?

This question comes home to every citizen, and in the present state of national affairs ought to receive an earnest and direct answer from each individual according to his patriotic convictions. But before an intelligent answer can be given a comprehensive review of the work of the last few years should be made, and the present condition of the country be clearly understood.

When the Republican party was elected to power some four millions of people were in slavery and there held under constitutional authority. But the institution had become obnoxious to a majority of the people and they resolved to stop its progress into new territory by the election of a President and a Congress that would carry out their wishes. This new policy was opposed by the Democratic party in the South, aided by their allies of the same faith in the other States. It was made the issue in the Presidential and Congressional elections, and the anti-slavery majority were successful. Upon the result being announced the slave States commenced preparations to secede. The Government was called to put down an extensive rebellion, in which it not only succeeded, but emancipated the entire slave

population, and by three articles amending the Federal Constitution, guaranteed freedom and equal political rights to every citizen forever.

During the period in which the nation was saved and the transition from bondage to freedom accomplished, the party in power was opposed at every step by the South, aided by their Northern allies. Up to the present time, though every reasonable concession has been made to the defeated party, little or no disposition has been manifested to accept the new condition of affairs and carry the amendments to the Federal Constitution into practical effect. The colored population are denied the free exercise of their political rights at the polls or elsewhere in any of the Southern States, and are practically disfranchised. To show that this is no imaginary conclusion we quote from the speech of Senator Logan, delivered in the United States Senate a few days ago. It refers to Georgia, now under a Democratic Governor and Democratic rule, and Senator Gordon claims that all is peace and quiet there, and everybody enjoys the full exercise of his political rights. But how does the matter stand with regard to the right of suffrage? Senator Logan says:

"I find published in one of the newspapers of the State of Georgia the votes cast at the last election by Congressional districts. One of the Senators has taken the pains to compile the number of inhabitants in some of those districts, colored and white, and then to compare the votes, and let the circumstances speak for themselves. Let the facts tell their own tale as to whether men are deprived of their rights in that State or not.

"I will take the fourth district of Georgia, copied from this paper publishing the returns of the different counties in the various districts. The fourth Congressional district of the State of Georgia is composed of Campbell, Carroll, Chattahoochee, Coweta, Douglass, Harris, Heard, Marion, Meriwether, Muscogee, Talbot, and Troup counties. In these counties the white population is 67,746; the colored population is 64,276—a difference of a little over 3,000 between the white and colored population. Estimating the voting population as one to seven, that would leave a difference of a few hundred on the side of the white population. We take it for granted at least that out of 64,276 colored people in a Congressional district there were certainly some few who would have voted the Republican ticket. Now, what was the vote in that Congressional district last fall? The Democratic vote was 9,218. That is the majority of the white voting population of the district. What was the Republican vote? Seventeen in all—all told—out of a population of 64,276 colored and some white voters of the Republican party. In one county 14 Republican votes, in another 1, in another 1. In eight counties, where there were thousands of colored people, not a solitary vote was cast for the Republican party. I desire to know—I ask the question in all candor—can any man stand upon this floor and tell me that there were but seventeen men, out of a colored population of 64,000, that were able to vote the Republican ticket? If but seventeen Republican votes were cast, what is the natural inference to be drawn from the facts and circumstances that surrounded those people at that time? There can be but one explanation of it, and that is the secret, silent torture of a threat against these people on account of a desire to preserve their rights and property. They were afraid to exercise the right given to them by the Constitution and the laws of their own country. There is no other inference that can be drawn, there is none other that is fair or just in the premises; and yet we are told day by day on this floor that all is peace and harmony, that no man is molested there, that everything goes on in accordance with justice, in accordance with right, and in accordance with the laws of our country."

A similar condition of affairs prevails

pretty generally throughout the formerly slave States. The colored citizens are not only driven from the ballot-box, but they are denied access to the public conveyances and hotels, their bodies are refused burial in the public cemeteries, and their children are denied admission to the free schools. In the face of the amendments to the Federal Constitution, passed by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States, the colored race are treated as if they had no rights which white men are bound to respect.

And if this is their condition now, what would it be with their oppressors in control of the Federal Government? The Democratic party in the South has not changed. Its leaders hold to the same views that governed them when they rebelled to sustain slavery. Nor has the Democratic sentiment of the North accepted the constitutional changes and new policy of equal rights to all. Are they, therefore, to be accepted as the leaders in national affairs? Is the work of the past fourteen years to be undone? Will the unfinished work of the Republican party be taken up and finished by their successors? These are thoughts for consideration. Mr. Curtis, in *Harper's Weekly*, for January 30, says:

"If we are asked whether we believe that the Republican party can recover its lost ground, and repair the consequences of the blunders that have been committed, we reply that the great objects which every patriotic man in this country should desire seem to us impossible of attainment under Democratic ascendancy. It is not because we think that parties can not change, nor because of any theory whatever, but it is from the observation of very simple and evident acts.

"The first and most striking of these facts is that the leadership of the Democratic party is practically unchanged. In the State of New York, for instance, Horatio Seymour, Governor Tilden, Judge Church, Mr. Kernan, Mr. Henry C. Murphy, Fernando Wood, Mr. Belmont, and Mr. John Kelly, are the Democratic chiefs. The last name is comparatively new. It is that of the present director of Tammany Hall, the most powerful local organization in the party. But Mr. Kelly's efforts are for the promotion of old party leaders; and what is there in the name or career of any of those that we have named which should make any man

who has acted with the Republican party for the last ten or fifteen years suppose that the purposes and principles which he most warmly cherishes will be respected or safe in their hands, or with the party in which they are leaders? Take with this another conspicuous fact, that the white population of the Southern States, which has grown up in a social system of human slavery, which is essentially a system of violence and injustice, necessarily hostile to liberty and equal rights, the corner-stones of the American political system, is not, and can not be, in any just sense republican, unless caste is republican. Yet this population, aristocratic in instinct and training and prejudice, and with all the want of general enlightenment which belongs to States in which there has been no efficient system of free schools, is the chief dependence of the Democratic party in its hope of return to power.

"We certainly do not say this in any other than a perfectly friendly spirit, or with the least wish to rekindle 'smouldering fires,' or to reopen 'closed gulfs.'" But it is not an answer to plain statements of fact to say that we ought to conciliate, nor does it dispose of an argument based upon knowledge common to all intelligent men to shout that it is "the gospel of hate," just as it is not the part of good sense or of good citizenship when a friendless negro is wantonly persecuted and murdered to sneer at "the grist of the outrage mill." What is most wanted in the country is an honest administration of the government in cordial and actual sympathy with the radical changes that have been made in the fundamental law, and in direct and stern opposition to the policy and spirit of the Democratic party upon the great questions that convulsed the Union for a generation, and finally brought it to civil war. In view of the fact that the leadership of that party is substantially unchanged, as we see in New York, and that the late slave-holding population, which is necessarily the most hostile of all to the new spirit of the Constitution and government, and the least essentially republican in feeling, is the mainstay of that party, nothing is plainer than that the government can not safely be intrusted to it."

It is not only in its treatment of the recently liberated slave population that the Democratic party propose to retard national progress. The free-school systems of the States would be put in jeopardy. Already free-schools in Texas—of which the Republican party had established several thousand throughout the State—have been closed under Democratic succession, and the free-school system is all but eradicated from the

State. Hon. Samuel S. Cox, member of Congress from New York city, has announced in his place that the succession of his party to power will be the signal to wipe out "*everything pertaining to education from the Federal standpoint.*" There will be no half way measures—the Educational Bureau and the Agricultural Department must go "root and branch." Are we prepared for the introduction of this state of affairs?

Mr. Curtis, in *Harper's Weekly*, in further commenting on such a calamity as a return of Democratic rule, says:

"In the actual situation, therefore, even if the Administration of General Grant should be conceded to have failed in fulfilling properly the purposes of the Republican party, the failure should not be regarded as a justification of a Democratic restoration by any Republican, unless he thinks that those purposes are more likely to be achieved by the Democrats. If any Lincoln Republican or any sincere Union man of '64 thinks that the amendments will be more faithfully observed, that the equal rights of whites and blacks will be more honestly protected, that the authority of the National Government will be more firmly maintained, or the just rights of the States more truly respected by the party, still unchanged in its leadership, and with the following that we have described, which so long defied humanity and reason and conscience, which prostituted the power of the National Government to strangle Kansas because, and only because, it sought to be a Free State—the party which made the national power a masked battery against liberty, and with the aid of the Supreme Court sought to impose slavery upon free soil as a national institution, guaranteed and protected by the national flag—if any Republican, if any intelligent American, thinks this, he will properly sustain the party which hopes by the errors of Republicans to make its way to power. The things that we described were not of the last century; they were of yesterday, in the time of men not yet old; and in the defense and maintenance of these things the present Democratic leaders were trained. Republicans have made many mistakes. But in politics as in all action, disappointment and despair are the worst of counselors. If the Administration of General Grant has failed to satisfy Republicans, their duty to themselves, to their country, and to humanity, demands that they secure one that will, not that they intrust the government to those who acquiesce in the gains and guarantees of liberty only because they could not prevent them."

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President in the quotations from Mr. Curtis are prompted by personal feeling, growing out of a difference of opinion, and a little independent action by the President on the

Civil Service question. Aside from that the remarks of the writer just quoted have great force, and should be seriously pondered by every well-wisher of his country.

GERRIT SMITH.*

Every month we seem called upon to note the passing away of some great actor in the drama of the "Irrepressible Conflict." Gerrit Smith bore no mean part in the contest. He was as nearly a perfect man as the world affords—demonstrating the possibility of a rich man entering the Kingdom of God. The weight of his moral character and his great wealth gave force and effect to all his words and acts in opposition to slavery and superstition. He was eminently a religious man—in early life of the orthodox stamp. Later he came to believe that a more liberal view of human nature, like that taught by Dr. Channing, was essential to the overthrow of human slavery. He belonged to no sect in religion, and to no party in politics.

Thurlow Weed informs us that Mr. Smith when a young man gave promise of great usefulness, and seemed likely to obtain a high position in political life.

In person he was very handsome, and of commanding eloquence as a speaker. He entered politics with great confidence and assurance of success. He was in 1831 a candidate for the Senate of the State of New York, and was defeated.

He was one year too early for success, as Mr. Weed would have persuaded him could he have reached him. "I was able to save Mr. Seward from the same mistake," said Mr. Weed; "and could have no doubt influenced Mr. Smith if opportunity had occurred."

Suffice it to say that Mr. Smith's defeat changed the whole course of his life. Politically, at least, he became soured and despondent. Thereafter he chose a *guerrilla* warfare. "He fought on his own hook." He would never join the Whig party, although the Seward wing of it was in full sympathy with his anti-slavery doctrines. Neither did

the Republican party receive his allegiance, as will appear by the following extracts from his correspondence:

"August 13, 1858.

"I, too, believe in educating the people, but my way to educate them is to publish to them the highest truths revealed to me. I must not retrograde from my light to their darkness. I must not go down to them, but seek to bring them up to me."

"July 7, 1860.

"Owen Lovejoy addressed my neighbors one evening this week from the piazza of my house, and was introduced by myself. Shall I not pass for a Republican after this? Nevertheless I remain a Radical Abolitionist, and can give my vote for no man who favors the return of the fugitive slave."

Mr. Smith was again a candidate for office in 1852. This time for Congress, and, of course, an "Independent." He was elected by a plurality; the Whig candidate receiving 5,620 votes; the Democrat 6,206; Mr. Smith 8,049. As a man his course in Congress was honorable, but as a statesman he was a failure. He resigned in the middle of his term, Henry C. Goodwin, a Whig, taking his place. Belonging to no "healthy organization," Mr. Smith was a cipher in Congress, as he soon discovered. He, however, delivered several able speeches against slavery, which were widely read by the people. It was the session made memorable by the passage of Douglas' bill repealing the Missouri Compromise. Sectional feeling was never so high, and Mr. Smith's position was anxiously watched. A correspondent, writing from the gallery of the House under date of June 10, 1854, speaks of a peculiar feature in the Congressional life of Mr. Smith:

"Here comes Gerrit Smith with a half dozen Southern members, who have just been dining with him. You have read in the papers, doubtless, that Mr. Smith has become very popular with the representatives of the slave-holding States—even with those most *ultra* in sentiment. This fact is exciting a

*Born March 6, 1797; died December 26, 1874.

good deal of remark here and elsewhere. Amicable relations exist between most Northern and Southern members—Free-soilers and Secessionists. But Mr. Smith seems to have won more than an ordinary degree of respect and attention from slaveholders. Various causes are assigned for this phenomena. Some say it is because Mr. Smith is very rich and gives sumptuous entertainments. Others impute it to even less worthy motives. I believe the secret is here—Mr. Smith is eminently a Christian, a man of peace and a man of principle. Such a character *will* command respect, although it is hard to make the world understand it. Besides, the Southern members think Mr. Smith's doctrines are too pure to be put in practice, except in the millennium; and hence they do not *fear* his influence, and can afford to respect and praise him. The fact that he is a man of fine personal appearance, of education, an impressive speaker, and withal a *millionaire*, has great weight with some men. So that instead of being insulted and driven from Congress, as some persons predicted he would be, he is one of the most popular men in the House of Representatives."

His friends, including Charles Sumner, were quite dissatisfied with his course during the crisis.

For the third time he was a candidate for office before the people. In 1831 for the State Senate; in 1852 for Congress, and now in 1858 for Governor. His labors in the latter canvass were more extensive, embracing for his field the whole State of New York, than any of previous years. He spoke in all parts of the State, generally to large audiences. The expenses of the campaign were borne by himself. In a letter, dated August 13, 1858, he manifests the deep interest he took in the contest, saying: "You refer to my nomination. It is true that it had a small beginning, but you will see in two or three weeks that it is no longer to be laughed at." The result of the election was: Morgan, Republican, received 247,868 votes; Parker, Democrat, 230,329; Burrows, American, 61,137; Smith, Independent, 5,446.

As an "agitator" Mr. Smith's services to various reforms were very great. He was always listened to with interest, and what he said generally had the merit of originality. He was obliged to decline many invitations, for reasons set forth in a letter dated April 21, 1857:

"I wish I could, as you suggest, go through our State pleading for liberty. But I can not. I am no longer young. The 6th day of last month found me 60 years old. Moreover, I am still under heavy burdens of private business. Since coming to manhood I have been all-immersed in the cares of property. I have, it is true, for 30 years spoken and written much for one and another great truth, but during all this time I have felt that I was especially called to do good with money. To get money, therefore, has been a leading aim with me, and this has cost me a life of laborious attention to business."

His munificent gifts of land and money to educational and charitable institutions and to poor people, black and white, male and female, often surprised the public. He, nevertheless, left his family at his death a million of dollars.

Such a man as John Brown could not fail to enlist the sympathies of Gerrit Smith. How far the rash acts of that martyr-spirit were known to his ardent friend will never, perhaps, be fully revealed. How has time vindicated the friendship that existed between these two men! The writer of this article was among those who took an active interest in John Brown. Among other things, he caused minute guns to be fired through the day on which the brave old man was executed. This was denounced by the Democratic press as an overt act of treason. Addresses to the people, petitions to Legislatures, and articles for the press were in requisition. In the course of our correspondence the following letter was received from Mr. Smith:

"OCTOBER 25, 1859.*

"Your letter goes to my heart, for very great is my love for the dear old man. No; the paper should not come from me. Were there no attempt to implicate me in the killing, there is no service I should like better. Do move in the matter. Oh, that our Heavenly Father would grant him deliverance!"

The terrible excitement of this tragedy was too much for Mr. Smith, already in feeble health. Medical aid was required to restore his mind to its normal condition. What obloquy and censures did not all who then befriended John Brown incur? Who shall impeach their acts now!

*John Brown was executed December 2, 1859.

Mr. Smith, although a strong advocate of peace, gave to the war for suppressing the rebellion a hearty and effective support. His only son enlisted in the army. Contributions from his purse flowed freely for the soldiers' relief no less than to the aid of the freedmen. His views of secession, before hostilities commenced, as shadowed in the following letter, seem to have been like those expressed about the same time by Horace Greely.

"January 4, 1861."

"Nothing can be more preposterous than the claim that secession is a constitutional right. But if the slave States wish to leave us in a peaceful and decent way, I would say let them be allowed to leave us. This, however, is not South Carolina's way. She is making war upon us—taking our property, and putting her flag in the place of ours. Hence I fear that bloody collision is not to be avoided."

Mr. Smith of course declined to support Mr. Clay in 1844 for the Presidency. In that closely contested election, the votes of Mr. Smith and his followers would have elected Mr. Clay, if cast for him, and prevented the greatest triumph ever achieved by the slave power. Mr. Smith felt this responsibility, and after the election he drew from Mr. Seward, who had pursued a different course, the following letter:

AUBURN, November 25, 1844.

To Gerrit Smith, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR: On my return from Orange county, I find your very kind letter of the 16th instant. I regret that I missed an interview with you in Albany.

You do me no more than justice in suppos-

ing that I shall continue the contest, or rather my exertions in the contest, for human rights with as much zeal as ever. But I am confounded for the moment by the magnitude and imminency of the perils to which the cause of freedom is exposed by the sad result of the recent election. It would be unavailing for you and me to dispute about the responsibilities for that result. The same wide difference of opinion that has hitherto existed in regard to our respective courses remains. But we have nevertheless a common devotion to the common cause. All the efforts of all sincere lovers of freedom will be necessary to overtake the triumphant spirit of slavery, and trammel up the consequences of the sanction of the conquest of Texas by the American people. You are committed to the liberty party's mode of proceeding. I find the Whig party like what I always loved to imagine it, firm, fearless, resolved in the very hour of its defeat. I believe it willing and yet capable to take the cause of freedom into its keeping. As yet I see no reason, and much less apparent reason now than heretofore, to distrust its instincts of liberty and humanity. Under these circumstances I shall cheerfully abide its destinies, and wait for the development of circumstances and occasions which will show in what quarter and in what manner the great war, in which we have lost so important a battle, is to be recommenced.

Believe me, always sincerely, your friend and obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The moral to be drawn from Gerrit Smith's public life seems to be this: If a statesman would serve his country most effectually, he must serve with unselfish fidelity the great party most nearly in accord with his own principles. The history of American politics teaches the same lesson.

BRIEF SKETCHES OF NEW SENATORS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

DAWES—REPUBLICAN.—When we endeavor to look candidly at the special exigency just met by the Republican members of the Massachusetts Legislature, there seem to be certain plain, paramount, decisive considerations which ought to leave no doubt about the wisdom of their action. The merit of other men fits them for various posts, the merit of Hon. Henry L. Dawes fits him for the Senatorship, and *this* Senatorship. Their time will come—his has come. For eighteen

years he has served Massachusetts and the country in the lower House of Congress with a fidelity and efficiency which is acknowledged among all Republicans from Maine to California. He shows it by the responsible positions to which he has been advanced on the floor of the House. Chairman of the Committee on Elections, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and leader of the House as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, it has been his lot for the last dozen years to exert a greater influence over the legislation of the country than any other Representative. Consider under what advan-

tages such a man enters the United States Senate. That long process of getting accustomed to the place in which many new Senators spend years will be entirely dispensed with by Mr. Dawes; and the next day after he takes his seat he will be the peer of any Senator in the readiness and efficiency with which he will proceed to the discharge of his duties, while, in consideration of his House career, he will be assigned a prominence on committees scarcely ever conceded to a new member. Thus the power of Massachusetts in the Senate will be restored with a quickness and completeness which can not but be exceedingly grateful to her Republican masses, and especially to her great business interests.

NEW YORK.

KERNAN—DEMOCRAT.—Francis Kernan, who succeeds Senator Tinton from New York State, was born at Tyrone, in Steuben county, January 14, 1816, and was educated at Georgetown College, in the District of Columbia. Mr. Kernan studied law at Watkins, and began the practice at Utica in 1839. As a lawyer he was very successful, and soon gained a leading position at the Bar. His first public position was that of reporter to the Court of Appeals, which he held from 1854 to 1857, and his first appearance in political life was in 1861, when he was a member of the Assembly. In 1862 Mr. Kernan was elected to Congress, but, though he was again a candidate two years later, he was defeated by Roscoe Conkling. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1867. In 1872 he was the Democratic candidate for Governor, but was beaten by General Dix, and he is the only Democrat sent to the Senate from New York since Dix was chosen in 1848. It is a very common remark that Mr. Kernan was defeated for Governor in 1872 because he is a Roman Catholic, yet there is no man in the State more liberal on what are generally assumed to be Catholic questions. In the Constitutional Convention he favored the exclusion of sectarian institutions from State aid, and for twenty years he has been a school commissioner in Utica, testifying his faith in the common-school system by sending his own children to the public schools.

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when he was first elected a State Senator, and he was four times re-elected, being still a member of that body. He served as chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee from 1865 to 1869, when he declined a reappointment, but he again consented to serve in 1871. Last year Governor Hartranft appointed him a commissioner to propose amendments to the new constitution. He is well versed in parliamentary law, and will not find himself a novice in the Senate.

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In March, 1857, he was elected to the supreme bench of the State, and has retained the position for seventeen years, adding steadily to his reputation as a sound and able jurist. In 1865 he was re-elected an associate justice, obtaining both the Republican and Democratic nominations. During 1872 and 1873 he filled the seat of chief justice, under the law conferring that position upon the senior judge on the bench. In 1873 he was again re-elected on both tickets, receiving all the votes cast. Judge Christianity is in the full possession of physical and intellectual vigor, and will make a dignified and able Senator, reflecting credit upon the State. As a lawyer he has no superior in his State in soundness and logical force. He is a man of strong character, of ample stores of useful information, and of practical capacity. In politics he is a sound and earnest, though not a partisan, Republican. Upon economic questions he favors a sound currency and a revenue tariff with incidental protection. In all respects he is well fitted for the position to which he has just been chosen.

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its strength upon him in 1874. The agreement has been kept, and he will become Senator Jones' colleague in March.

MAINE.

HAMLIN—REPUBLICAN.—Hannibal Hamlin, of Bangor, was borne at Paris, Me., August 27, 1809. He was prepared for a collegiate education, but was obliged by the death of his father to take charge of his home until he was of age. He was a year in a printing office as a compositor. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1833, continuing in active practice until 1848. Mr. Hamlin was a member of the Legislature of Maine from 1836 to 1840, inclusive, and again in 1847, presiding as Speaker of the House in 1837, 1839, and 1840. He was a Representative from Maine in the 28th and 29th Congresses; was Governor of the State of Maine in 1857; was elected Vice President of the United States in 1860; appointed collector of the port of Boston in 1865, and resigned in 1866. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1848, for four years, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of John Fairfield; was re-elected in 1851, but resigned in 1857 to act as Governor. He was re-elected in 1857 and served till January, 1861; he presided over the Senate from 1861 to 1865, was re-elected to the Senate for six years ending March 4, 1875, and is now his own successor for another term of six years.

RHODE ISLAND.

BURNSIDE—REPUBLICAN.—Ambrose Everett Burnside was born at Liberty, Indiana, May 23, 1824. He graduated at West Point in 1847, was stationed at Fort Adams, Newport, R. I., and subsequently sent to New Mexico, where he commanded a squadron of cavalry and acted as quartermaster in the boundary commission, 1851-'2. Having invented a breech-loading rifle he resigned his commission in 1853 and established a manufactory for its fabrication in Rhode Island. This proving unsuccessful, he became treasurer of the Illinois Central railroad, at its office in New York. He was among the first to tender his services to the Government upon the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, and he participated with the Rhode Island troops in the earliest struggles of that memorable period of our nation's peril. Receiving an appointment as colonel of the 1st Rhode Island volunteers 1861, his regiment marched to Washington four days after the issuing of the call by the President.

He soon distinguished himself and won honorable promotion. He gained his laurels at Newbern, Roanoke, and Fredericksburg, and he was one of the commanders of the

Army of the Potomac during its most trying experience. Thus he established himself in the esteem and favor of the Government and soldiers, and when he returned to his home further honors were given him at the hands of his grateful and appreciative people. He was selected as the Republican standard bearer in the State election and triumphantly elected Governor by a handsome majority. He was re-elected, and, during both terms, filled the office so as to give general satisfaction.

The *Evening Press* speaks of the General as follows: "The brightest name on Rhode Island's page in the history of the late civil war is that of Ambrose E. Burnside, and he of all others in the State is most applauded when appearing in a public assemblage. This reputation, and the very lineaments of his countenance are well known throughout the length and breadth of the land. Neither is his fame limited to this side of the Atlantic, for in the late Franco-German war, when a medium of communication between the hostile nations in the interests of conciliation and peace was desired, this distinguished American soldier was selected. No one will ever fear that Burnside will be either bullied or bribed. General Burnside belongs to no particular clique or wing of the Republican party, but represents all wings, and, indeed, the whole State, as the Democrats seem to be abundantly satisfied with him. Personally the General makes a very fine and rather imposing appearance, and though he is not a speaker of any ability, he nevertheless possesses a great deal of sound and practical common sense, a thing which is very much needed in the political Legislatures of the country. Before the war he was a Democrat, but now is in full accord with the Republican party."

NEW JERSEY.

RANDOLPH—DEMOCRAT.—Theodore F. Randolph was born in Middlesex county, New Jersey, in the year 1826. His father was for many years a leading Whig statesman and a cotemporary of Theodore Frelinghuysen. He was also a representative in Congress for eight years, and a Whig editor in New Brunswick for thirty-six years. The newly elected Senator cast his first vote in the State of Mississippi, and after a residence there he returned to his native State in 1850, and became a resident of Hudson county, where, after figuring in politics in a prominent manner, he was sent to the State Assembly in 1860. In 1852 he married a daughter of Congressman W. D. Coleman, of Kentucky, and a grand-daughter of Chief Justice Marshall. He was elected Governor of New Jersey in 1868.

TENNESSEE.

JOHNSON—DEMOCRAT.—Andrew Johnson is the first ex-President who has come back to the United States Senate. His history is somewhat remarkable. He was born in Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808; at ten years of age was apprenticed to a tailor and followed the business seven years; never attended school, but by self study acquired a good English education. Removed to Greenville, Tenn., and was elected Mayor in 1830, sent to the State Legislature in 1835, to the State Senate in 1841, and to Congress from 1843 to 1853. In the latter year he was

chosen Governor of the State, and was re-elected in 1855. He was a Senator in Congress from 1857 to 1863. Resigned in 1862, and was appointed by President Lincoln Military Governor of Tenn.; was elected Vice President of the United States in 1864, and became President on the death of Mr. Lincoln, April 15, 1865. In 1866 received from the University of North Carolina the degree of LL. D. He was impeached by the National House of Representatives, February 22, 1858, on alleged misconduct under the Tenure-of-office bill. He was acquitted by the Senate organized as a High Court of Impeachment.

THE NATIONAL CENTENNIAL AND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1876.

THE OBJECTS OF THE ENTERPRISE.

Whoever has conceived the idea that the great iron buildings now in progress of construction in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, are merely for the purpose of celebrating the first centennial period of our national history fails to comprehend the scope and importance of the enterprise. Those even who advance a step further and view the effort as a commendable arrangement for a great national fair for the exhibition merely of our own products of agricultural, manufacturing, and mining industries, fail to realize its full import, or comprehend the grand objects of its projectors, and those who, with them, are sparing neither mental nor physical labor to make the great undertaking an entire success in the accomplishment of the objects in view. Both of these objects are important. In reference to the first, the President, in a message to the House of Representatives February 25, 1874, recommending such legislation as Congress might deem necessary to make the Centennial "a complete success," said:

"It seems fitting that the one-hundredth anniversary of our independence should be marked by an event that will display to the world the growth and progress of a nation devoted to freedom, and to the pursuit of fame, fortune, and honors by the lowest citizen as well as the highest. A failure in this enterprise would be deplorable. Success can be assured by arousing public opinion to the importance of the occasion. An undertaking so patriotic in its conception, so vast in its proportions, and so useful in its results com-

mends itself to the hearty sympathy and support of an intelligent people."

The second object, though less patriotic, is even more important. It embraces the practical idea of a comprehensive, classified collection and exhibition of sample products from every department of our industries, embracing fully those of the sea, soil, mine, manufactory, and workshop; art, education, and the apparatus and methods for increasing and diffusing knowledge and advancing modern civilization.

But the scope of the exhibition, while it embraces these objects, is not confined to a mere patriotic commemoration, or to a national fair for the display of the products of American industry and progress. Its grand, and by far its most important feature will be its international character. The President of the Centennial Commission, in his annual report of the progress of the enterprise to the President of the United States, on the 23d of February, 1874, said:

"The benefits to be derived by the American people from the exhibition are by no means confined to the exhibition of American productions. The arts of design, as practiced in all parts of the world, will be represented in a manner never before possible on this continent. The products of the mechanic arts and manufactures of Europe and the Eastern nations will be presented on a grand and comprehensive scale, and, what is of greater importance, descriptions or illustrations of the methods and processes of their production will be given. Thus will be afforded to the millions of mechanics and arti-

sans, and to the pupils of technical and industrial colleges and schools who may be unable to visit foreign countries, an opportunity to examine and study all that is most valuable and instructive in foreign arts and industries. Europe will come to them with its machinery and wares so arranged and classified that they can view them as a whole or study them in detail and utilize their teachings."

Such, then, is the three-fold object of the Exposition of 1876—a fitting observance of the one hundredth anniversary of our national independence; a National Fair of native products, art, and industry to mark the development of a single century; and an International Exhibition of the advanced products of the world's industries, in the interests of universal development and civilization. It will be international because all nations have been invited to participate in it; and universal because it will include a representation of all natural and artificial products, all arts, industries, and manufactures, and all the varied results of human skill, thought, and imagination.

International exhibitions are of modern origin. England, France, and Austria have led the way and established their importance in the Old World, and it is eminently proper that the New World or great Western Continent should be the world's choice as the place for the next exhibition at which products of the best intellect of all nations may be gathered, classified, and presented for inspection. England was the first in this as she is generally in the advance of civilization and the arts.

ORIGIN AND IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

It is said that the first idea of inviting the whole world to friendly competition originated in Paris in 1844, but it was a German who worked out the idea of a great universal exposition in a pregnant form. Prince Albert, consort of the Queen of England, said, in 1851, "The exhibition shall be a proof and a living picture of the height of civilization and development of mankind, and give convictions that success in this direction can only depend upon the help which we give one another, through peace, love, and help, not only among individuals, but, also, all

the nations of the earth." The exhibition in London, 1851, was built after a plan of Paxton, and, under the title Crystal Palace, was counted among the wonders of the world. The palace contained two thousand separated spaces 24 feet by 24 feet. The number of exhibitors was 14,837, out of which England, Scotland, and Ireland furnished 7,381; Germany, 1,720; Austria, 748. The space under cover, occupied, was 799,000 square feet.

Now mark the commercial result alone: In 1850 the export of England amounted to £131,000,000 sterling; in 1853, (after the exhibition,) £214,000,000. This increase was mostly owing to the influence of the exhibition. In the industry which depends upon good machinery and cheap fuel England was in advance; Germany in skill of art and science; France in matters of taste of form, in which England with all her means and energy has since then made enormous progress. The South Kensington Museum owes its origin and existence to the exhibition of 1851. Germany, too, has done her utmost not to be behind in these matters.

Growing out of our State fairs and city industrial exhibitions, the public mind has been long impressed with the importance of national and international expositions. The late Wm. H. Seward, when Secretary of State, said of them, in communicating to Congress the United States Report on the Paris Exposition in 1867:

"Their beneficent influences are many and widespread; they advance human knowledge in all directions. Through the universal language of the products of labor, the artisans of all countries hold communication; ancient prejudices are broken down; nations are fraternized; generous rivalries in the peaceful fields of industry are excited; the tendencies to war are lessened, and a better understanding between capital and labor is fostered. * * * One of their most salutary results is the promotion of an appreciation of the true dignity of labor and its paramount claim to consideration as the basis of national wealth and power. Such exhibitions have become national necessities and duties."

AMERICA IN THE CONCOURSE OF INDUSTRIES.

The following extracts from a very able and instructive address on modern industrial progress, by President F. A. P. Barnard, of

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Columbia College, New York, on the opening of the forty-first annual exhibition of the American Institute of that city, are presented as indicating some of the most important contributions to the industrial progress of the century which have originated in the United States, which can and will be shown in their full development and perfection at the international exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876, with many more from the same source :

"In conclusion, the inquiry naturally presents itself, where are we, the industrials of the United States, in this great concourse of nations, and what is the part which we are contributing to the march of industrial improvement? The reply, I believe, will be one of which we need not be ashamed. There is hardly an industry to the progress of which we have not largely contributed. The cotton-gin, without which the machine-spinner and the power-loom would be helpless, is American. The power-shuttle, which permits an unlimited enlargement of the breadth of the web, is American. The planing-machine is American. Navigation by steam is American. The mower and reaper are American. The rotary printing presses are American. The hot-air engine is American. The sewing machine is American. The machine-manufacture of wool-cards is American. The whole India-rubber industry is American. The band-saw originated, I believe, in America. The machine-manufacture of horse-shoes is American. The sand-blast, of which the large capabilities are yet to be developed, is American. The gauge-lathe is American. The only successful composing-machine for printers is American. The grain-elevator is American. The artificial manufacture of ice, which you saw exhibited here two years ago under the name of the Carre process, was originally invented by Professor Alexander S. Twining, an American. The electro-magnet was invented, and immediately after its invention was first practically applied in transmitting telegraphic signals, by Professor Joseph Henry, an American. The telegraphic instrument introduced a few years later into public use, and which has since obtained universal acceptance, was invented by Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, late one of the regents of our institute, an American."

He also said, with reference to the

BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS:

"And now, let me ask, what must be the effect of notices like these, widely circulated throughout England and the whole continent of Europe, upon the substantial interests of our country? I say the substantial interests, though I am not insensible to the

concomitant advantages which may be more properly called sentimental, the increased respect which such displays, and such critical judgments pronounced upon them, must secure for us as an intelligent people, and a people among whom intelligence is honored; but I say the substantial interests, meaning thereby the enlargement of the demand for our productions, involving as natural consequences the increase of our foreign commerce, the growth of our manufactures, and the more rapid development of our vast national resources still unimproved. This exposition was visited, first or last, by more than ten millions of people. These notices were read, doubtless, by several millions. And these visitors and these readers were of every kindred and people and tongue and nation under the sun. Is it nothing to bring purchasers directly into contact with the articles they need? Is it nothing to bring industrials into the immediate presence of machines or implements or materials which reveal to them at the first glance new sources of power? Since it is self-evidently true that no industry can work its way upward unless it is known of those whom it is adapted to benefit; since, therefore, extensive advertising is admitted to be an essential condition of every industrial success, what possible expedient can be conceived better adapted to create expeditiously a demand for any article having in it merit enough to recommend itself than that of placing it before the world in a great international exposition?"

THE ADVANTAGES OF PHILADELPHIA FOR AN EXHIBITION.

Philadelphia offers, by its central location and railway and water facilities, peculiar advantages for the exhibition of 1876. There are no less than ten places on the river fronts where large vessels can lie at the docks in plenty of water, and unload alongside of a railroad. There are five on the Delaware and five on the Schuylkill. At any one of these points goods can be unloaded from the vessels into the freight cars, and be shipped straight away for the exhibition; and as tracks will be laid through the building, all goods can be unloaded at the precise spot at which they are to be exhibited. On the Delaware the first of these landing docks is at the great coal depot of the Reading Railroad, at Port Richmond; the second is adjacent to the North Penn depot, at the corner of Front and Berks streets; the third is the lower Reading depot, at the foot of Willard street; the fourth is the Philadel

phia, Wilmington and Baltimore depot, near the old navy-yard; and the fifth is at the general freight depot of the Pennsylvania railroad, on Greenwich Island. The first four roads all have communication with the main Pennsylvania road, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, which line passes within a quarter of a mile of the exhibition grounds. On the Schuylkill the Pennsylvania road, by means of its southern extension, taps the river just below the Philadelphia Gas Works, and again near the United States arsenal; the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore crosses the river at Gray's Ferry, and goods can be landed by the Chestnut Street and Market Street bridges and loaded on the main track of the Pennsylvania road. In the corner formed by the junction of Belmont and Elm avenues the city owns a large plot of uncleared land, south of the park line. This they have loaned to the commission, on which to erect their general depot, which will be close to the west end of the main building and the east end of the machinery hall. Short, curved tracks, one running east and the other west, will connect this depot with the Pennsylvania track. Thus it will be seen that the exhibitors' goods, arriving from no matter what section of the country by railroad, will be deposited in the exhibition buildings without any intermediate unloading or cartage through the city. But, in addition to these depot landings, the railroads have passenger depots which will be of great service in enabling visitors to the exhibition to go to and from their abiding places. For instance, there is the West Philadelphia depot at the corner of Thirty-fourth and Market streets, the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore at the corner of Broad street and Washington avenue, the Reading at the corner of Broad street and Callowhill, and the Germantown and Norristown at the corner of Ninth and Green streets. In fact, the steam railroads passing through the city form such a network of communication that they alone could transport all the visitors to the exhibition to within a short walk of their homes. The passenger accommodation will have the alternative of the horse railroads. There are

now eight different street railroads reaching Fairmount Park, all of which, by 1876, will center at the exhibition grounds. It is also hoped that the intended gravity railroad, to run all over the park, will be finished by the time the exhibition is opened. This will prove a great attraction, as it will enable all to see the many beauties of the park at a slight expense and without physical exertion or undue loss of time. The Commissioners will also build a track running around their principal buildings to facilitate the passage of visitors from one department to another. The various railroad companies will do all they can to facilitate local traffic on their lines within the city limits, and to help the transportation of goods. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company have determined to reduce the running time of their trains between New York and Philadelphia to two hours during the six months the exhibition will remain open. This will be a great thing for a very large class of New Yorkers. They will be able to leave at 8 o'clock in the morning, be home by 8 o'clock in the evening, and yet have eight hours to spend in studying the exhibition.

THE SITE OF THE EXHIBITION.

One of the most important matters to which the Centennial Commission had to turn their attention was the site for the exhibition. Congress had ordained that the exhibition should be held in the city of Philadelphia, and the question was in what part of the city should it be located. The municipal authorities, including the Park Commissioners, quickly solved the question by offering a portion of Fairmount Park as a site. A conference took place between the authorities and the commissioners, which resulted in the city placing at the disposal of the commission 450 acres of ground in the southwestern portion of the park. This offer from the city of Philadelphia was thankfully accepted by the commission, the necessary maps of the ground and legal documents were drawn up, and on the 4th of July, 1873, the land was formally transferred to the commissioners by Hon. Morton McMichael, the President of the Fairmount Park Board of Commissioners, with great ceremony; a large concourse of spec-

tators, including several of the members of the President's Cabinet, the civic dignitaries, and innumerable well-wishers to the exhibition. The site chosen runs from the foot of George's Hill almost to the Schuylkill river, parallel with Elm avenue, on the south, and extending north as far as the Columbia Bridge and the Belmont Mansion, one of the old pre-revolutionary country-seats which stud the Park. The broad stretch of level meadows known as Lansdowne Plateau, which forms the lower part of the site, will be occupied by the three principal buildings; the main building and the machinery hall running parallel with Elm avenue, the first on the east and the second on the west of Belmont avenue. The art-gallery will be due north of the main building, with an intervening space of 300 feet. The great conservatory will be on the crown of a beautifully timbered hill, about due north of the space between the main building and the machinery hall. This knoll is separated from the Lansdowne Plateau by a ravine, across which a light and elegant bridge will be thrown, thereby adding to the natural beauties of the spot and contributing greatly to the convenience of visitors to the exhibition. The agricultural building will be still further north, lying between the Columbia Bridge and the Belmont Mansion. To those who are conversant with the fine scenery of Fairmount Park, with the Schuylkill and its wooded banks winding through it, it will be evident that no large city in the Union could furnish a more splendid site for the exhibition, especially as this site is nearly 150 feet above the river and presents magnificent views of the surrounding scenery.

PATRIOTIC ASSOCIATIONS.

Fairmount Park furnishes elements in its historic features which will indirectly add to the glories of the exhibition, from their intimate association with the event and the time which it is especially intended to commemorate. Scattered about over its 3,000 acres are the ancient homes of many of the Revolutionary heroes—homes which have often offered hospitable shelter to such men as Hancock, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and others. Near the fine monument erected to Mr. Lincoln in 1871, on the top of

Lemon Hill, is the old mansion of Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution. Below the west side of the Girard avenue bridge stands an ancient house built by John Penn, grandson of William Penn, whose descendants owned the property till it was purchased by the Park Commissioners. Belmont Mansion was the home of Richard Peters, Secretary of the Board of War during the Revolution. Washington, Jefferson, Lafayette, and others were constant visitors at Belmont, and a walnut tree planted by Lafayette in 1824 still stands on the ground. Louis Phillippe, Talleyrand, and other European celebrities have also visited Belmont. Just below Belmont is "Tom Moore's cottage." In fact, the park abounds in objects of national and historic interest, and in lovely glens, shady pools, and splendid views from all points. The scenery surpasses anything to be seen in the Central Park, and must form a great additional attraction to the exhibition.

PROGRESS OF THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE EXHIBITION OF 1876.

From the reports of the President of the Centennial Commission and the public press we note the gratifying fact that the buildings are well advanced, that they will be ready for the reception of heavy goods by the first of January, 1876, and that nearly the entire country has become enthusiastically in favor of the enterprise. Each State is engaged by its most enterprising citizens in preparations for a proper representation of its industries and development, and there will be no lack of success on that score.

FOREIGN REPRESENTATION.

Already twenty-three foreign Governments have formally accepted the President's invitation to participate. These are—

Great Britain,	Argentine Confederation,
Germany,	Brazil,
The Netherlands,	Venezuela,
Belgium,	Liberia,
Honduras,	Sandwich Islands,
Haiti,	Japan,
Mexico,	Ecuador,
Peru,	Chili,
Sweden and Norway,	Guatemala,
Spain,	Salvador,
France,	U. S. of Colombia.
Nicaragua,	

Of these Governments ten have, up to De-

ember 1, 1874, appointed commissioners to care for the interests of their citizens. Appropriations to cover the expense of their representation in the exhibition have been made by—

Sweden and Norway	\$133,000
Ecuador	10,000
Argentine Confederation	50,000
Mexico	70,000
United States of Colombia	25,000

The Emperor of Brazil (who has signified his intention to be present at the exhibition) is known to have recommended a liberal appropriation, but his Parliament has not yet had an opportunity to take action on the subject.

There is also unofficial, but trustworthy, information that extensive preparations for the display of their industries are being made in Austria, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and others of the Australian islands, and in Canada. In several countries, moreover—in Brazil, Algiers, Chili, and Mexico—national exhibitions have been arranged for the present year, with the understanding that their choicest products are to be transferred to Philadelphia in 1876. The display of the resources of the entire continent is sure to be very comprehensive and thorough.

THE BUILDINGS.

The principal buildings in which the International Exhibition of 1876 will be held are the Main Building, the Art Gallery, the Machinery Hall, the Agricultural and the Horticultural Halls. In the aggregate they cover a floor space of about forty acres.

The main exhibition building is located immediately east of the intersection of Belmont and Elm avenues, on the Landsdowne Plateau. It will stand 170 feet back from the north side of Elm avenue, the area between the building and the avenue being used for special products, which may be exhibited in the open air. There will also be a space 300 feet in width between the building and the art gallery, on the north side, which will be ornamentally treated as ground for special purposes.

The building is in the form of a parallelogram, extending east and west 1,880 feet in length and north and south 464 feet in width.

The larger portion of the structure is one story in height, and shows the main cornice upon the outside at 45 feet above the ground, the interior height being 70 feet. At the center of the longer sides are projections 416 feet in length, and in the center of the shorter sides or ends of the building are projections 216 feet in length. In these projections, in the center of the four sides, are located the main entrances, which are provided with arcades upon the ground floor, and central facades extending to the height of 90 feet.

The east entrance will form the principal approach for carriages, visitors being allowed to alight at the doors of the building under cover of the arcade.

The south entrance will be the principal approach from street cars, the ticket offices being located upon the line of Elm avenue, with covered ways provided for entrance into the building itself.

The main portal on the north side communicates directly with the art gallery, and the main portal on the west side gives the main passage-way to the machinery and agricultural halls.

Upon the corners of the building there are four towers 75 feet in height, and between the towers and the central projections or entrances there is a lower roof introduced, showing a cornice at 24 feet above the ground.

In order to obtain a central feature for the building as a whole, the roof over the central part, for 184 feet square, has been raised above the surrounding portion, and four towers 48 feet square, rising to 120 feet in height, have been introduced at the corners of the elevated roof.

The areas covered are as follows:

Ground floor.....	872,320 sq. ft.	20.02 acres.
Upper floors, in projections.....	37,344 sq. ft.	.85 acres.
Upper floors, in towers.....	26,344 sq. ft.	.60 acres.
	936,008	21.47 acres.

GROUND PLAN.

The general arrangement of the ground plan shows a central avenue or nave 120 feet in width, and extending 1,832 feet in length. This is the longest avenue of that width ever

introduced into an exhibition building. On either side of this nave there is an avenue 100 feet by 1,832 feet in length. Between the nave and side avenues are aisles 48 feet wide, and on the outer sides of the building smaller aisles 24 feet in width.

In order to break the great length of the roof lines, three cross avenues or transepts have been introduced of the same widths and in the same relative positions to each other as the nave and avenues running lengthwise, viz: a central transept 120 feet in width by 416 feet in length, with one on either side of 100 feet by 416 feet, and aisles between of 48 feet.

The intersections of these avenues and transepts in the central portion of the building result in dividing the ground floor into nine open spaces, free from supporting columns, and covering in the aggregate an area of 416 feet square. Four of these spaces are 100 feet square, four 100 feet by 120 feet, and the central space or pavilion 120 feet square. The intersections of the 48-foot aisles produce four interior courts 48 feet square, one at each corner of the central space.

The main promenades through the nave and central transept are each 30 feet in width, and those through the center of the side avenues and transepts 15 feet each. All other walks are 10 feet wide, and lead at either end to exit doors.

The following table gives the principal dimensions of the different parts of the building. Measurements taken from center to center of supporting columns:

DIMENSIONS OF THE MAIN BUILDING.

Length of building.....1,880 feet

Width of building..... 464 "

Central avenue or nave:

Length.....1,832 "

Width..... 120 "

Height to top of supporting

columns..... 45 "

Height to ridge of roof.... 70 "

Central transept:

Length..... 416 "

Width..... 120 "

Height to top of columns... 45 "

Height to ridge of roof.... 70 "

Side avenues:

Length.....1,832 "

Width..... 100 "

Height to top of columns... 45 "

Height to ridge of roof..... 65 "

Side transepts:

Length..... 416 feet.

Width..... 100 "

Height to top of columns... 45 "

Height to ridge of roof..... 65 "

Central aisles:

Length at east end..... 744 "

Length at west end..... 672 "

Width..... 48 "

Height to roof..... 30 "

Side aisles:

Length at east end..... 744 "

Length at west end..... 672 "

Width..... 24 "

Height to roof..... 24 "

Center space or pavilion:

Ground plan..... 120 " square.

Height to top of supporting

columns..... 72 "

Height to ridge of roof... 96 "

Towers over courts:

Ground plan..... 48 " square.

Height to roof..... 120 "

Corner towers:

Ground plan..... 24 " square.

Height to roof..... 75 "

The foundations consist of piers of masonry.

The superstructure is composed of wrought iron columns which support wrought iron roof trusses.

As a general rule the columns are placed lengthwise of the building at the uniform distance apart of 24 feet, and the sides of the building, for the height of seven feet from the ground, are finished with timber framed in panels between the columns, and above the seven feet with glazed sash. Portions of the sash are movable for ventilation.

The wrought-iron columns are composed of rolled channel bars, with plates riveted to the flanges.

The roof trusses are similar in form to those in general use for depots and warehouses, and consist of straight rafters with struts and tie-bars.

THE DEPARTMENTS.

The space assigned to each nation is in the form of a section crossing the building from north to south. Intersecting these at right angles and running lengthwise of the building are the divisions into the departments of the classification. The departments are ten in number, viz:

1. Raw materials—mineral, vegetable, and animal.

2. Materials and manufactures used for food, or in the arts, the result of extractive or combining processes.

3. Textile and felted fabrics; apparel, costumes, and ornaments for the person.

4. Furniture and manufactures of general use in construction and in dwellings.

5. Tools, implements, machines, and processes.

6. Motors and transportation.

7. Apparatus and methods for the increase and diffusion of knowledge.

8. Engineering, public works, architecture, &c.

9. Plastic and graphic arts.

10. Objects illustrating efforts for the improvement of the physical, intellectual, and moral condition of man.

Of these departments Nos. V and VI will be chiefly in the Machinery Hall, No. IX wholly in the Art Gallery, and portions of departments I, VI, and VIII in the Agricultural and Horticultural Halls. Products which appropriately find place within the main building will be arranged by the commissions of the respective nations as nearly as possible in accordance with the classification.

Space in the Art Gallery, Machinery Hall, Agricultural Hall, and Horticultural Hall will be reserved for the foreign commissions on application to the director general prior to May 1, 1875.

REGULATIONS FOR EXHIBITORS.

For the information of intending exhibitors we append a series of rules drawn up for their guidance by Hon. A. T. Goshorn. It is, perhaps, necessary to add that a copy of the rules can be had by applying to Col. Myer Asch, assistant secretary of the Centennial Commission. The rules are:

The dimensions of space desired must be given in feet and inches, and should indicate the exact size of the objects to be exhibited, without including any allowance for passageways. This information will be absolutely necessary for the final apportionment of space among the applicants.

In the column headed "Kind of Space" is to be mentioned whether floor space, counter space, wall space, or out-door, uncovered space is desired. The building in which each object will be placed is determined by the classification.

Exhibitors will not be charged for space.

A limited quantity of steam and water power will be supplied gratuitously. The quantity of each will be settled definitively at

the time of the allotments of space. Any power required by the exhibitor in excess of that allowed will be furnished by the commission at a fixed price. Demands for such excess of power must also be settled at the time of the allotment of space.

Exhibitors must provide, at their own cost, all show-cases, shelving, counters, fittings, &c., which they may require; and all counter shafts, with their pulleys, belting, &c., for the transmission of power from the main shafts in the machinery hall. All arrangements of articles and decorations must be in conformity with the general plan adopted by the director general.

Special constructions of any kind, whether in the buildings or grounds, can only be made upon the written approval of the director general.

The commission will take precautions for the safe preservation of all objects in the exhibition, but will in no way be responsible for damage or loss of any kind, or for accidents by fire or otherwise, however originating.

Favorable facilities will be arranged by which exhibitors may insure their own goods.

The transportation, receiving, unpacking, and arranging of the products for exhibition will be at the expense of the exhibitor.

If products are not intended for competition* it must be so stated by the exhibitor, and they will be excluded from the examination by the international juries.

Articles that are in any way dangerous or offensive, also patent medicines, nostrums, and empirical preparations whose ingredients are concealed, will not be admitted to the exhibition.

The removal of goods will not be permitted prior to the close of the exhibition.

Each person who becomes an exhibitor thereby acknowledges and undertakes to keep the rules and regulations established for the government of the exhibition.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS FOR VISITORS.

Suitable and ample hotel and boarding-house accommodations for visitors is a matter that can not be overlooked with impunity. This duty should not devolve upon the Centennial Commission, but upon the people of the city of Philadelphia. Ten million persons visited the Paris Exhibition in 1867. Those who were readers of the London *Punch* a quarter of a century ago will remember its inimitable pictures of the prospects of visitors to the then forthcoming exhibition of 1851; pictures of men, women, and children sleeping on billiard tables, on

the shelves of cupboards, and even in bureau drawers. People laughed, but they foresaw the possible truth, unless something was done. Well, London householders took Mr. Leech's hint; and during the summer of 1851 some of the western, northern, and south-western districts of London were temporarily converted into one vast system of lodging-houses. The result was that every one who visited the exhibition was happy, and that the amateur landlords and landladies reaped a rich harvest. It seems to us that Philadelphia can not do better than follow the example of London. After enumerating the Continental Hotel, the Girard House, the Colonnade, the La Pierre, and the Bingham Hotels, one has pretty well exhausted the first-class hotels of Philadelphia. These five houses accommodate, at the most, about 2,000 persons. But, as it is, they are nearly always full. They can be expected, then, to do little or nothing to accommodate the extra influx of visitors on the opening of the exhibition, and it must be borne in mind that Philadelphia, unlike New York and Washington, is not a city of boarding-houses. But for the Centennial year it must, to a very large extent, become such. Already the people have taken the matter into consideration, and under the direction and co-operation of the director general of the exhibition, there is every reason to believe that ample arrangements for the accommoda-

tion of the numerous visitors—on a scale of prices that will meet the wishes of all classes—will be provided.

PECUNIARY AID TO THE EXHIBITION.

It is not to be expected that the receipts of the exhibition will meet its cost. To make it an entire success additional funds must be provided in advance of the completion of the buildings and opening of the exhibition. Congress has indorsed the enterprise in its national and international features, but it has, so far, made no appropriation to defray any portion of the cost of the same. The State Legislature of Pennsylvania, the city of Philadelphia, and the people of that city, and, to some extent, of the State generally, have indicated patriotic liberality, and contributed millions of dollars to the enterprise. Many of the other States are doing well. But that there may be no failure in this fundamental element of success, would it not be eminently proper for Congress to make an appropriation in aid of this international exhibition? Is it not its duty to do so, at least to the extent of the aggregate contribution of the State, the cities, and the people of Pennsylvania? And if so, now is the time to bring the matter under consideration with a view to final action in support of an enterprise in which the nations of the world are interested, and in aid of which foreign governments are now making appropriations in order to secure a proper representation of their respective industries.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE NECESSITY OF PREPARATION FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The President sent the following Message to Congress on the 20th January:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In my annual Message of December 1, 1873, while inviting general attention to all the recommendations made by the Secretary of War, your special attention was invited to the importance of preparation for war in the armament of our sea-coast defenses. Proper armament is of vastly more importance than fortifications. The latter can be supplied very speedily for temporary purposes when needed. The former cannot.

These views gain increased strength and pertinence as the years roll by.

I have now again the honor to call special attention to the condition of the armament of our fortifications and the absolute necessity for immediate provision by Congress for the procurement of heavy cannon. The large expenditures required to supply the number of guns for our ports is the strongest argument that can be adduced for a liberal annual appropriation for their gradual accumulation. In time of war such preparations cannot be made. Cannon cannot be purchased in open market nor manufactured at short notice. They must be the product of years of experienced labor.

I herewith inclose copies of a report of the

Chief of Ordnance and of a board of ordnance officers, on the trial of an eight-inch rifle converted from a ten-inch smooth bore, which shows very conclusively an economical means of utilizing these useless smooth bores and making them into eight-inch rifles, capable of piercing seven inches of iron. The 1,294 ten-inch Rodman guns should, in my opinion, be so utilized, and the appropriation requested by the Chief of Ordnance of \$250,000 to commence these conversions is earnestly recommended. While convinced of the economy and necessity of these conversions the determination of the best and most economical method of providing guns of still larger caliber should no longer be delayed. The experience of other nations, based on the new conditions of defense, brought prominently forward by the introduction of iron-clads into every navy afloat, demands heavier metal and rifle guns of not less than twelve inches in caliber. These enormous masses, hurling a shot of seven hundred pounds, can alone meet many of the requirements of the national defenses. They must be provided, and experiments on a large scale can alone give the data necessary for the determination of the question. A suitable proving ground, with all the facilities and conveniences referred to by the Chief of Ordnance, with a liberal annual appropriation, is an undoubted necessity. The guns now ready for trial cannot be experimented with without funds, and the estimate of \$250,000 for the purpose is deemed reasonable and is strongly recommended. The constant appeals for legislation on the "Armament of Fortifications" ought no longer to be disregarded if Congress desires, in peace, to prepare the important material without which future wars must inevitably lead to disaster. This subject is submitted with the hope that the consideration it deserves may be given it at the present session.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Jan. 20, 1875.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

AN INTERNATIONAL MARITIME EXPOSITION AT
PARIS IN 1875.

The Minister of France has informed the Secretary of State that an international exhibition of manufactured articles used in sea and river navigation and the fisheries, the products of the sea, alimentary or otherwise, will be held in Paris in 1875. The sixth section of the French department includes also the principal articles of export from France used in navigation. Fuller information can be obtained from the French Legation.

UNITED STATES TREASURY.

CUSTOMS AND CURRENCY RECEIPTS.

The receipts from the customs have increased slightly within the past few weeks, but are still very light in comparison with previous years. The amount now being received is scarcely more than sufficient to meet the interest on the public debt and other obligations of the Government which require coin payments. Treasury officials do not anticipate a very material increase of customs receipts during the spring months, after which time there will probably be a falling off sufficient to bring the receipts even below the present low ebb. The currency receipts from all sources are not sufficient to meet the current expenses of the Government, and it will be but a short time before the surplus accumulated in the Treasury by the sale of gold will be exhausted, which will necessitate a resumption of gold sales. In the meantime the Secretary of the Treasury will urge upon Congress the necessity of passing before the 4th of March next a bill which will increase the customs revenue, and thereby prepare the Treasury to meet any emergency which may arise rendering gold sales necessary. The amount of coin now in the Treasury is not sufficient to warrant such sales.

INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS.

There has been a considerable falling off in the internal revenue receipts during the past few days, and the estimates made during the first week of the month of January, when the receipts were very large, that the total for the month would reach if not exceed \$10,000,000, will not, unless there is a large increase for the remaining days of the month, be verified.

THE SYNDICATE AND THE FIVE PER CENT. FUNDING BONDS.

Several gentlemen connected with the negotiation of the new five per cent. bonds have had a conference with the Secretary of the Treasury with a view to obtaining an extension of the time in which to place the remainder of the loan. The syndicate, in view of the difficulties under which they have labored, asked that the terms of their contract be so amended as to extend over a period of six months from the 1st of Febru-

ary, the date at which their present contract expires. The matter is now held under advisement by the Secretary. It is understood that the syndicate in all their dealings with the Government have given the most complete satisfaction.

THE CONTRACT CLOSED.

The contract for the negotiation of the five per cent. funded loan made with Messrs. Belmont & Co., Rothschild & Sons, and Seligman & Bros., in July last, was renewed at the Treasury on Wednesday, 29th January. The house of J. S. Morgan & Co., of London, has been added to the combination. The firm subscriptions now made is for twenty-five millions, with a six months' option for the balance.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANKS.

Since the passage of the act of January 14 the Comptroller of the Currency has received applications for the organization of new national banks as follows: 1 bank in New York, capital, \$1,000,000; 2 banks in Connecticut, \$200,000; 2 banks in Maine, \$150,000; 1 bank in New Jersey, \$100,000; 1 bank in Kentucky, \$100,000; 2 banks in Massachusetts, \$200,000; 8 banks in Pennsylvania, \$50,000; 1 bank in Illinois, \$50,000. Applications have been received for an increase of capital from 1 bank in Kentucky, \$200,000; 1 bank in Massachusetts, \$200,000; 3 banks in Pennsylvania, \$310,000. Total increase, \$3,360,000. Since the date of the passage of the act above mentioned legal tenders have been deposited for the purpose of reducing circulation by 2 banks in the State of New York, \$173,000; 1 bank in Illinois, \$59,000. Total decrease, \$232,000.

HOW APPLICATIONS SHOULD BE MADE FOR THE ORGANIZING OF NEW NATIONAL BANKS.

Applications should be made to the Comptroller, giving the names of not less than five shareholders of the proposed bank, with an accompanying letter from the Senator or member of Congress of the district in which the bank is located, certifying to the character and responsibility of the applicants. The application will then be considered and granted, and the necessary forms for the organization of the bank immediately transmitted.

The limit to the aggregate amount of national bank notes, which has heretofore been \$354,000,000, is removed by the recent act, and national banks may now be organized in any State of the Union subject to the restrictions and provisions of the national bank act.

MAXIMUM OF CIRCULATION THAT MAY BE ISSUED TO OLD BANKS.

The proportion of the circulation which may be issued to banks organized previous to July 12, 1870, is as follows: Banks having a capital not exceeding \$500,000, 90 per cent. of such capital; banks having a capital of \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, 80 per cent.; banks having a capital of from \$1,000,000 to \$3,000,000, 75 per cent.; more than \$3,000,000, 60 per cent. of such capital. The circulation of national banks organized subsequent to July 12, 1870, is limited to \$500,000 by an act of that date, which provides that no banking association hereafter organized shall have a circulation in excess of \$500,000. The only bonds now receivable as security for circulation are United States five or six per cent. bonds bearing interest in coin, and the amount of circulation issued is at the rate of 90 per cent. of the par value of these bonds.

GONE INTO VOLUNTARY LIQUIDATION.

The Comptroller of the Currency has received information that the Cook County National Bank of Chicago has gone into voluntary liquidation, in accordance with the provisions of the national banking act.

AN INCREASE OF REVENUE REQUIRED—REVISION OF THE TARIFF.

At the request of the Committee of Ways and Means, Secretary Bristow has drafted a bill involving various tariff increases, with estimates of the yield of each article. He is of the opinion that he needs thirty million dollars more than he expects to get under the present laws. This, he thinks, can be nearly realized by a tax of fifteen cents per pound on tea, with extra ten per cent. imposed upon indirect importation of tea from beyond the Cape of Good Hope; three cents per pound on coffee, and the repeal of the ten per cent. reduction of the act of June 6, 1872. He will accompany the bill being prepared by him with recommendations involv-

ing fifteen million dollars more for the committee to select from, but will not recommend any increased internal taxation. The Secretary thinks he can get along with thirty million increase, but wants all of that sum.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

PROPOSED IMPROVEMENT OF THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

The report of the select board of engineers, appointed under act of 23d of June last to investigate and report on the best mode of securing an adequate channel at the mouth of the Mississippi, has been laid before the House and referred to the Committee on Railways and Canals, (which had the subject under consideration last session,) and ordered to be printed. The board, having been instructed to inquire whether one of the natural outlets could be improved or whether an artificial canal should be undertaken, visited Europe to examine engineering works there, as there are none in America of a character to throw sufficient light on the questions involved.

In Europe they found such examples of success by means of jetties or dikes to confine the water, and thus by increased current deepen the channel, that they decided to recommend jetties for the mouth of the Mississippi. They estimate the cost of a ship-canal from a point on the river near Fort St. Philip to Breton bay as equal to a capital of \$11,514,200. They estimate the cost of jetties at the Southwest Pass as equal to a capital of \$16,053,124, and at the South Pass as equal to \$7,943,110.

In the opinion of the board jetties would be effective at either the Southwest or South Pass, but they regard the latter as adequate to the wants of commerce, and recommend its improvement in the mode proposed. Gen. Wright concurs in the estimates of the other six members of the board, but has not equal faith in the efficacy of jetties, and therefore gives preference to a ship-canal. The average width of the South Pass is 730 feet, and of the Southwest Pass 1,400 feet. The board say that the entire sum to build the jetties should be appropriated at once, as the work should be done as rapidly as possible. Three

years is the time estimated as necessary to secure a channel of thirty feet.

THE MISSISSIPPI LEVEES—RECLAMATION OF THE ALLUVIAL BASIN.

The President has sent to the House the report of the board of engineers, appointed under the act of June, 1874, to investigate and report a permanent plan for the reclamation of the alluvial basin of the Mississippi river subject to inundation. The report is voluminous; it will make about 125 printed octavo pages. The commission says: "The foundation of the report rests upon the invaluable surveys and investigations of Gen. Humphreys, begun in 1850 and continued until 1860, and the further contributions to this subject contained in his official reports of 1866 and 1869."

Additional data has been obtained upon subsequent floods and the results of more recent experience in building levees. The only want of information that now exists is in regard to the exact configuration of the land and water to enable exact and proper location of levees to be made, and the commission estimate that the necessary hydrographical and topographical surveys will occupy three years and cost \$300,000. They recommend a present appropriation of \$160,000 for this purpose. The result of the surveys can be made available and the work commenced in the construction of the levees without waiting the completion of the surveys.

General Humphreys indorses the report of the commission, and in view of its importance recommends the printing of 10,000 extra copies for circulation in the region so directly interested in the subject.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH THE WASHINGTON AND OTHER NAVY-YARDS, AND THE NAVAL HOSPITAL AT ANNAPOLIS.

Mr. Sargent, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, who were instructed to inquire into the expediency of reducing the number of navy yards and naval hospitals, and authorized to visit such points on the Atlantic coast for the purpose of making such inquiry, has submitted the report of the committee. The committee are of the opinion that three of the yards on the Atlantic coast may be dispensed

with, viz: the navy-yards at Washington, Philadelphia, and New London. The report says with reference to the Washington yard: "The Washington navy-yard has too small an area for an extensive establishment, and has of late years been used rather for a repairing and manufacturing yard than for building. The approach to it is by a crooked and difficult channel; it is far from the sea; is remote from supplies of timber, iron, and coal; the number of skilled artisans is limited, and there is no work done at it that can not be more cheaply done and the materials more cheaply obtained at League Island, when that yard is put in proper condition to do it. The Washington navy-yard is well supplied with good buildings, tools, and machinery, and in a better locality for its purposes would be of great value. The estimate for repairs of buildings is about \$19,000." The report further recommends the closing of the naval hospital at Annapolis, and says the necessity of a naval hospital at Washington is very slight, since every sailor brought to the Washington hospital passes by Norfolk, where there is a commodious hospital located advantageously, in a healthful climate; that the duplication of expense by keeping both institutions running is entirely unnecessary; that if the Washington yard should be abolished sailors would not be brought here at all; and that any expense of sending sick marines to Norfolk by steamboat would be slight compared with that caused by maintaining a separate institution here.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

REPORT OF THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

Mr. A. T. Goshorn, director general of the National Centennial, on the 20th January, filed with the Secretary of Interior the annual report of the Centennial Commission, as required by act of Congress. Mr. Goshorn reports that the enterprise is moving forward with encouraging rapidity. The buildings are all under contract, and will be fully completed by February 1, 1876. The work of preparation is so well advanced that the failure which marked the opening day at the Vienna Exposition can not occur at Philadelphia. It is not the purpose of the com-

mission to apply to Congress for an appropriation to aid in the erection of buildings or other work of preparation. This has been amply provided for, and while an appropriation would give additional success to the enterprise, the commission feel that the exhibition is guaranteed without regard to aid from Congress. In the report the commission ask Congress to make an appropriation to provide for the premiums to be offered contributors. The amount of the appropriation asked for will not exceed \$400,000. The commission also ask Congress to authorize the President to detail at least one regiment of United States troops for guard duty during the continuance of the exhibition. The report is accompanied by tables and drawings, showing the extent of the buildings, their cost, and purposes to which each will be devoted. Mr. Goshorn is convinced that everything will be in readiness to formally open the exhibition on the 1st day of May, 1876.

INDIAN BUREAU.

LEGISLATION NEEDED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE INDIANS—NO LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR CERTAIN CRIMINALS.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has written the following letter, which is self-explanatory:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
WASHINGTON D. C., Jan. 23, 1875.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith a report from C. P. Birkett, United States Indian agent for the Ponca Indians, in Dakota Territory, dated January 13, 1875, giving additional facts in connection with the murder of two Ponca Indians, on the Yankton reserve, by Santee Sioux Indians, together with the correspondence had with Major J. G. Grassman, Indian agent at Yankton, on the subject. This crime having been committed by Indians on an Indian reservation there is no existing statute of law under which the party accused of the murder can be brought to trial and punished if found guilty. This case is only illustrative of what is frequently happening in the Indian service, and the nearer to civilization the Indians come the more frequent such cases are likely to be from the fact that by civilization and restraint we debar the Indians from the exercise of their barbarous mode of punishment under the law of retaliation, and thus, practically, leave those inclined to commit wrong without any restraint from fear of

consequences. This office has heretofore made its report on the matter and asked that steps be taken to procure legislation establishing the operation of common law upon Indian reservations, and these recommendations have met with the favorable indorsement of the Department to Congress, but no legislation has been secured; and I respectfully suggest that this case and its bearings be forwarded to Congress as an illustration of the difficulties constantly increasing in the Indian service by reason of the absence of law. Very respectfully,

E. P. SMITH,
Commissioner.

THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

THE SUPREME COURT DECIDES THE LEGAL VALUE OF THE FRENCH FRANC IN FAVOR OF THE GOVERNMENT.

In the case of Arthur, Collector of New York, *vs.* Richard & Iselin, which involved the value of the franc in invoices of foreign goods, Justice Bradley delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court to the effect that the statute of March 3, 1873, governs the case, and that the terms of that statute are quite clear and its meaning unmistakable. They are: "The value of foreign coin, as expressed in the money of account of the United States, shall be that of the pure metal of such coin of the standard value. This basis of comparison excludes debased or abraded coin of diminished value, and makes the coin of full standard value, and the amount of pure metal therein the basis for ascertaining the value of foreign money. The gold coins of different countries are properly used for this purpose where they exist, because gold has become the principal medium of international exchange. According to this rule the French franc, as compared with United States coin, is worth nineteen cents three mills, as ascertained by the Superintendent of the Mint and published by the Secretary of the Treasury. This is the value contended for by the Government. The statute was evidently intended to be general and mandatory, and is inconsistent with previous statutes fixing different values. The second section of the act, in fixing the value of the pound sterling, adopts precisely this principle of comparing the amount of pure metal in standard coins of the two countries, and declaring that such valuation shall be

used in the custom-houses as well as the valuation of contracts. This corroborates the view that the first section is to have the same interpretation.

ALABAMA CLAIMS COURT.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE ON CLAIMS.

At the session of the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims Saturday, the 23d January, the clerk was directed to enter of record the following minute: The time allowed for the filing of claims expired on the 22d day of the present month of January. The whole number filed is 1,385. Before the expiration of this time it would have been useless to strike cases from the record, for the claimants could have filed new petitions. Justice to all parties now requires that the cases yet unheard should be disposed of with the least practicable delay. The clerk is therefore directed to enter upon the trial docket, in their numerical order, all claims in which no decision has been rendered.

This docket will be called three times, but a greater number than fifty cases will not be called in one day. At each calling of the docket parties who have not been previously heard will have an opportunity to submit their proofs and arguments.

On the third calling of the docket every claim shall be disposed of by a final judgment.

Cases 87, 160, and 286 were called, and were demurred to on the ground that injuries to persons are not admissible. Judge Baldwin delivered the opinion of the Court, sustaining the demurrer.

Case 135. Nehemiah Hand and Robert N. Hand against the United States. Judgment rendered for Nehemiah Hand for \$15,750, with interest at 4 per cent. from March 13, 1863. Judgment rendered for Robert N. Hand for \$3,863, with interest at 4 per cent. per annum from March 13, 1863.

STEAM as a motive power is being introduced on our leading canals. When the steam engine shall take the place of the slow-plodding mule, and our canals shall be made deeper and broader than at present, we may look for a complete revolution in the internal commerce of the country.